TIANITY AND JUDAISM COMPARE NOTES

BALL AND COHON

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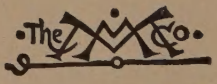

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Christianity and Judaism Compare Notes

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FOREWORD

At a conference held in Chicago, attended by the president of the Hebrew Union College of Cincinnati (an institution devoted to the training of rabbis for Reform Jewish congregations) and representatives of the three leading Protestant theological schools of Chicago, plans were made for an exchange of lectureships between these schools. The present volume contains the first fruits of this coöperative endeavor.

Its purpose is neither propaganda in any sense, nor yet to suggest by comparison the merits or defects of one faith or another. Its aim is rather that of better mutual understanding, in order to bring about mutual appreciation and ultimately to further coöperation among the constructive religious forces of our land. For the first time in our common religious history, Christian theological schools invited a Jewish seminary to send a representative who should interpret the Jewish faith to Christian hearers. And in return the Jewish school invited a Christian representative to interpret for it the faith and spirit and life of Christianity. The genuine fellowship that marked these occasions, the sympathetic interest on the part of the respective student bodies, the manifest spirit of good will, are the outstanding facts remembered by both visitors. Their conviction, with which their associates agree, is that a large group of Jews and Christians would be interested in these discussions and in their purpose were they to be published.

Back of us lies a history too much marked by bitterness and prejudice and misunderstanding. Divisive forces are not lacking in the life of our own day. If we are to overcome them and do better in the future, the first step to take is a step toward a better mutual understanding. Something more will be required, of course, than the abatement of prejudice and suspicion; but that will be the first step toward a realization that there are common convictions that bind us, common foes that we face, and that we have a common interest in bringing an ethical and spiritual faith to our age.

Our expectation, therefore, is that the fair-minded man, whether Jew or Christian, will welcome this opportunity to look at these two religions from this angle, somewhat new unfortunately, of mutual respect and absence of propaganda. In these pages, Judaism and Christianity compare notes. Inevitably both religions must be considered in the light of their history; but the real aim is to present them as living faiths of the present day, to show the convictions and ideals which animate their followers, their institutions and ways of self-expression.

While its primary purpose is thus to enable the Jew, who is willing, to gain a better understanding of the Christian, and the Christian of the Jew, this brief survey confined to essential features should also help either Jew or Christian to understand and appreciate his own faith better. And intelligent understanding of our own faith is not the least helpful preparation for successful appreciation of the truth held by others.

HARRIS FRANKLIN RALL
SAMUEL S. COHON

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Introduction

The purpose of these chapters, as indicated in the joint Foreword of the authors, is not a defense of the religious faith here set forth, nor yet an effort to propagate it, but simply to interpret it. It is not easy to understand an alien religion. It is not enough to note its doctrines and describe its institutions. These are the product of its life but not the life itself. While the life changes, they tend to remain stationary, and thus do not adequately represent the developing life. These lectures seek to interpret Christianity as a living religion, its convictions and hopes, its spirit and ideals, its worship and work. But though our primary interest is not the past, yet we must turn to history again and again in order to understand what is distinctive of Christianity, what is its bond of union, and what the ground of its varied forms.

Back of all religions there lie the same deep human needs. The answers given to these needs will vary, but they move along the same broad lines. The simplest way, therefore, to interpret a religion to one who comes from the outside is to point out the elements that correspond to these needs. There are three such elements and the last

three chapters of this treatment are given to setting them forth. There is first the element of conviction, the answer to man's search for the meaning of his world and for some Power in whom he may trust. The second is the question of obligation, the conception of religion as a way of living as determined by one's relation to this higher world of meaning and power. And finally there is the element of hope, the idea of saving help coming into man's life through his relation to this higher world, that is, to God. In turn, therefore, these chapters discuss "The Christian Conviction," "The Christian Way," and "The Christian Hope."

One other question, however, comes up for first consideration. Christianity is a fellowship, a church. It has had its own distinct life as such, its own history. How did this fellowship arise? How did it separate itself from Judaism, the mother religion with which it has so much in common? Is there a tie that makes it a unitary faith despite its diversities? What is the meaning of the church in which this fellowship is organized and through which it is expressed? In the effort to answer these questions the first chapter, "The Christian Fellowship," is written.

The author's own understanding of Christianity is made plain by the following pages. He might call himself Protestant, evangelical, or liberal, but these terms convey such varied meanings to different people as to become misrepresentative in fact. These pages seek to set forth fairly the essential nature of Christianity, alike as seen in history, in its various forms, and in the direction of its movement today. As indicated later, however, its main attention is given to Western Christianity of the Protestant type.

I—The Question of Unity and Variety

To one interpreting the meaning of Christianity, the inevitable first question comes: What Christianity do you represent? Is it liberal or fundamentalist, Roman Catholic or Protestant? Is it, indeed, possible to give a unitary description? Is there a discernible and real bond of union among Christians today? Or, if you go back in history, where will you seek the normative expression of Christianity? Will you stop with Jesus? Or move on to the apostolic church? Or seek it in its latest development?

The problem is not so hopeless as might appear at first glance, nor is the spectacle of these divergent forms of the Christian faith purely one for cynicism or despair. Certain considerations should appeal to us as students of religion. First, a living religion is a growing religion. It can remain unchanged only when men repeat creeds and cease to think, or perform rites with no reference to the needs and duties of a changing world. The static religion is a dead religion. Second, we must distinguish between spirit and form in religion; we cannot separate them, but we must not identify them. The element of permanency lies in the spirit; here is where we must look for continuity and for unity, remembering that these do not exclude either freedom or growth. Third, the form in which the spirit, or life, is expressed will vary in different groups and with different ages. Whether it be ritual or creed or organization, the fact of a common and unchanging form may be a defect rather than a virtue. Finally, we must recognize that religion is always both social and individual; the adjustment of these two involves inevitably a certain amount of tension, but the loss of either would be fatal. Religion to be real must be in-

dividual, and its notable advances in insight have come through "the appeal from the tribal custom to the direct individual intuition."[1] Yet there is an inescapable social impulse in religion and it lives on only in social fellowship, just as it concerns itself with social as well as individual values. But while the social element makes for likeness, the individual element makes for difference and change. The Jewish religion, like the Christian religion, illustrates these points.

Our study of the Christian fellowship, then, will necessarily be a study of variety and unity. We shall turn first to the beginnings of Christianity to seek the creative forces that gave it rise, and its bond of union. We shall study next the significance of the forms which it took in its development, and the general problem of spirit and form in relation to the divisions of Christianity. Finally, we shall consider the Christian fellowship of today, its bond of union and its expression in the organized church.

II—The Beginning of Fellowship

Great religious movements never begin with a mere change of doctrine or reform of cultus or deliberate establishment of organization. These may follow in the wake—they usually do; but the creative sources lie not here. They begin rather with some new and profound experience of the Divine Presence, the experience which men crave and which draws them about those personalities that have seen the Presence and that call men to hear the new word. So it was with the prophets of Israel, so with Buddha in his own way and despite his agnosticism, so with Mohammed. It was not otherwise with the beginning of Christianity. Christianity did not begin with a reform of teaching or cultus or organization. Jesus announced no innovation of doctrine; his faith was the faith in the

God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob. He did not ask men to discard the law. Neither he nor the earliest leaders announced or contemplated a separation from Judaism; the first leaders kept the Jewish hours of prayer, were regular frequenters of the temple, and were shocked at the suggestion that they disregard the ritual requirements as to food. At all these points changes were implicit in Christianity and in due time became apparent, but the movement itself began at another point.

Great religious movements begin with religious experiences which involve new religious insight. The creative elements in early Christianity center about two words, Jesus and the Spirit. As to Jesus himself, there was first of all the impress of his personality through his life and his word, and not least through the manner of his death. With this went the conviction of the first disciples, after his death, that he lived and that he had appeared to them. It is an easy matter here to be held by the externals and to miss the inner reality. The older Christian theologians fixed their attention upon various doctrines and institutions: divinity of Jesus, atonement, sacraments, organization of the church, and the like. The modern student is concerned with the bearing of Jewish apocalypticism and the mystery religions, and with what Christianity borrowed from these. Such considerations are pertinent but not primary. The creative fact in early Christianity lies elsewhere, and should be sought in the realm of religious experience. Primary is the fact of Jesus himself and his profound experience of the Eternal, an experience that expressed itself alike in his word, his deed, and his death. Primary, too, is the fact that for his followers he brought a like living experience of God. In him they saw the presence of God. His word and life were to them a revelation of God, and in his death they saw the saving

deed of a God of Mercy seeking to win men to himself. The word of Paul voiced their common faith: "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself."

The other significant word in the beginnings of Christianity is the Spirit, and this also points to a creative religious experience. The idea of the Spirit has a twofold significance for our discussion. First, it meant that religion was for these men not merely an ardent hope of some future salvation for individual or people, nor yet a rule of conduct imposed upon them; it was the conscious presence of the Divine bringing to them a new life. They had seen this first of all in Jesus, and the Gospel narratives emphasize the fact that he was filled with the Spirit. Now it became a reality for themselves. It was not some passing ecstatic experience, it was the sense of a daily Presence. It was a religion of strength and joy, of courage and confidence, that came with the assurance of an indwelling God in their midst. And this belonged not to the few great spirits or to the rare moments, but to the Christian believers as such. This leads us to the second significant aspect; the Spirit was something definitely ethical for them. That does not mean that the lower elements of the idea, the experience of ecstasy and the thought of extraordinary endowments, were not present. Nevertheless in Paul the higher idea is constantly and strongly presented. The divine Spirit is the Spirit which they had seen in Jesus; Paul could speak interchangeably in his own mystical fashion of Christ in men or of the Spirit in men.

Here then is where we must look for what was creative and constitutive in early Christianity. It is not to be found primarily in the so-called theology of the New Testament, whether of Jesus or Paul, nor in what the New Testament says about sacrament and church organization.

It is to be found in that movement of fresh religious experience of which these writings are not the source but the expression. The roots of this experience lie first of all in the person of Jesus. In him these early Christians felt that God had given some new revelation of himself, that his word was the word of God to them, his spirit was the rule for their life. They believed that he had been raised from the dead and had appeared to them. They were convinced that his death was not tragic fate but his willing deed and God's great purpose intended to reconcile men to himself. In its second aspect this experience rooted in a vivid realization of God as present with them through his Spirit and of a new life which was thus given to them, that is, in religion as a gift and not simply as a task.

Here, then, was the bond of union for the first Christian fellowship; it was the faith which they had in Jesus and the life into which they had been brought through him. In him they had found their answer to the great questions of religion. They thought of God in terms of his spirit—"the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ." They held to the hope of a coming kingdom which he was to bring. They lived a life of fellowship with God, with an assurance of forgiveness and of the presence of God's Spirit, and this they owed to him. And in his word and his spirit they saw their highest ideal and rule of life.

Neither the purpose of these lectures nor the time at disposal calls for the critical discussion of what was original or unique in this primitive Christianity or how it separated from its Jewish mother. Our aim is to interpret the meaning of Christianity and but passing consideration can be given to these questions. The originality of Christianity is to be sought in the person of Jesus; the originality of Jesus is to be found, not in his teaching, but in his personality as a whole. It is not difficult to find paral-

lels for the teachings of Jesus in the Old Testament, in later Judaism, as well as in classical sources. But, as H. G. Enelow says, "Supreme personality is greatest originality,"[2] so Irenaeus said, back in the second century, in answer to the question, What new thing did Jesus bring? "He brought all newness in bringing himself."

As regards the separation from Judaism, we can see now how inevitable that was, though the first generation of Christians at Jerusalem had little thought of this matter. They thought of themselves as Jews, yet they belonged to a fellowship that was narrower, more intimate, and far richer for them in meaning. At the same time the new fellowship was wider. Judaism was national; what Jesus emphasized was never the national and his appeals might have been directed to a Greek in exactly the same way as to a Jew. His stress was upon the ethical and spiritual, and so upon the universal. Jesus directed no words against institution or ceremony as such, or against the law of his people; but this same emphasis on the ethical and spiritual inevitably involved a relative indifference to the latter. Just as soon as the new movement touched men outside the Jewish fold, these latent principles came to light and the church had to face the issue. Paul did not create it; his sharp polemic against the law and his doctrine of grace only gave it special form.

III—Spirit and Form

So far we have been considering this primitive Christianity in terms of religious experience, a new vision of God, a new experience of divine purpose and presence and help. The early church was strikingly indifferent to matters that engrossed the later church, to questions of doctrinal definition, to matters of authority and organization and ritual. But such questions had to come. Take

the matter of doctrine. There is no religious experience apart from some interpretation. More and more these men had to give answer to such questions as the meaning of the death of Jesus and how they were to think of Jesus himself. For a national religion like Judaism, carrying on the customs and ideals of its historic past, relatively indifferent to outside forces, such questions have a minimum weight. But Christianity offered itself as a message to all men. Doctrine was inseparable from its life. It differed here not only from Judaism, but even more from the current mystery religions. It appealed to the conviction of men with a definite teaching concerning God and the world and the way of life. Moreover, the earlier days with their simple, spontaneous, unorganized fellowship could not remain. So, one after another, came the familiar questions of order, authority, cultus, creed, sacred writings, and the like. Religion is primarily attitude and spirit, but spirit cannot live without form. If it is to function in individual life and in society, if it is to live on effectively, it must shape for itself a body of organization, doctrine, and ritual.

To understand the Christianity of today we must give at least brief notice to these forms which, not simply at the beginning but through the centuries, the Christian church has been shaping for itself. First of all there came the inevitable questions of organization and authority. The early church felt itself led by the Spirit, and the Spirit was given not to one or a few but to all. There were, of course, recognized leaders, but there was nothing fixed and rigid. A Peter stands out by force of character among the twelve. A James, who is not one of the twelve, seems later to displace him in first position. A Paul, appearing to many an interloper, becomes the most influential of the three. All is fluid as yet. But the second century

sees the bishop in place of authority, and at length there appears in the west a church which is state and church at the same time.

So the other developments of form may be traced. Doctrines are wrought out. Over against the real danger of teachings that would have disintegrated the new faith, like the gnosticism of the second century, the church defines its position, but in so doing sets up creeds that become fixed and unchanging dogma. The Christian writings are a priceless heritage for the new communion, with accounts of the life and teachings of the Founder, with great interpretations like the fourth gospel, and letters like those of Paul. Again, with the need of some norm and the pressure of various heresies, these are gathered into a sacred canon, placed side by side with the Old Testament, and endowed with absolute and literal authority. So came, too, the development of cultus leading sometimes to a magical sacramentarianism and an unethical and unspiritual conception of salvation.

What we are dealing with here is not something peculiar to Christianity. It is a certain logic of religious life which is at once necessary and full of danger. The spirit must express itself in form, especially in religion which is of necessity social as well as individual. The form enables religion to function socially and to perpetuate itself. At the same time, however, it tends to harden, to become an encrusting shell instead of a useful organ. And because the form is so easily seen and defined, and because the sacred feelings and convictions are associated with this, men tend to confuse form and spirit and to find the divine and authoritative in the form.

IV—The Divisions and Their Causes

It is from this standpoint that the development and divisions of Christianity can best be understood. Again and again we observe how some great Christian communion has fixed upon certain institutional forms of Christianity and has said: Here is the central and essential element of the Christian religion, here is its divine and authoritative mark. So the Eastern, or Orthodox, church has laid the stress upon dogmas and a system of sacraments. In the Roman church it is organization and authority that stand first, and Christianity becomes a legally and divinely prescribed institution with the pope at the head, determining correct teaching and controlling the salvation of men through its sacraments. The same situation appears in certain parts of Protestantism, where sometimes it is the letter of the Bible, at other times certain doctrines, to which the place of absolute authority is given and which are supposed to express the unchanging essence of Christianity.

This same clue will help us if we turn from history to the present-day fundamentalist-modernist controversy. Here again the concern of men, as in all matters of religion, is to discover the place where they may find God. In the older phrase, it is the problem of the supernatural. For the fundamentalist, the divine must be something definite, fixed, and unchanging. He thinks of God primarily as the one who is above and beyond, the transcendent God of absolute power. If a religion be divine, it must point to some definite deed or word in which once for all this divine is embodied for men. His is, therefore, the institutional conception of Christianity, however much he may stress spiritual experience and moral conduct. The forms of fundamentalism are most varied, for one turns

to creed and another to a sacramentarian system, a third to ecclesiastical organization and authority, and still another to the letter of the Bible. The Greek and Roman churches are in this sense fundamentalistic, as is high churchism everywhere. We have associated fundamentalism popularly with the Protestant churches of America, and yet it is, strictly speaking, alien to the principles of Protestantism.

The opposing point of view is something much broader than what is usually called modernism, though we will use that term for lack of a better. Here the stress is laid upon an indwelling God whose presence is seen not so much in a doctrine that is communicated or an institution that is established, as in the life which he inspires. It is in this ongoing life that this God is to be found. The stress is upon the personal and the spiritual. It implies a dynamic conception of the world and God as against something static. And just as clearly there is involved the idea of development. The danger in this conception is that immanence shall exclude transcendence, that the divine will be lost in the human and temporal, that men shall miss that vital part of religion in which that which is more than man speaks to man with the word that evokes awe, that inspires confidence, that demands obedience, and assures help. But such a result is by no means necessary in the opposition to fundamentalism.

The problem which faces the Christian thinker here is not simple but, on the other hand, it is not peculiar to Christian thought, and I bring it to you because I wish to present not just the Christian movement of the past but the way in which present day Christian thought is expressing itself. What it seeks to do is to see the deeper unity which underlies certain surface oppositions or contrasts.

The first is the contrast, already observed, between spirit and form, between life and institution. It is the spirit which is sacred; it is only in the spiritual, the personal, that God can adequately reveal himself. The personal and spiritual will express itself in writings, social organization, creed, and ritual. These have their necessary place in religion, but it is in the personal that God comes to us and it is this which speaks with authority to us.

The second contrast is that of the divine and the human. It is the divine that man demands in religion, it is God that he wants, a strength above his own weakness, a word of sure help for the needs of life, a supreme right that can command, a supreme good that can satisfy. But we can know this divine only as it comes in human experience, we can have this God only as he appears in the world of human life. Transcendence and immanence are both needed.

And there is the contrast between the changing and the abiding, the new and the old. Long ago the Greek Parmenides declared that there was only one true being, and that unchanging, while Heraclitus looked on the same world and said, "Everything flows." It is the same question again: where are we to find God? In life, in action, in change, says one, and so he seeks God in the ongoing life of the world. What is divine, says the other, will be unchanging, and so he seeks in religion for an unchanging church, an unchanging creed, an unchanging and absolute letter.

The Christian thinker of today knows that he must unite these seeming contradictories. Religion requires spirit and form. It demands the divine, but the divine must come to us in the human. Religion seeks the eternal, the unchanging in the midst of time. What is true does not change; righteousness and mercy and justice are al-

ways good. God is the same yesterday, today, and forever. But that does not mean a static universe or an immobile God. We must find God in our changing, growing universe, in the ongoing life of our humanity; not in some distant, long-ago-finished work of creation, but in a creation, a movement of his redemptive love, which is going on even in our day.

V—The Bond of Fellowship

With this background the present day Christian thinker approaches his twofold question. In the changing Christianity of history, is there something that abides and unites? In the varied forms of Christianity as we see them today, is there something that is common? He does not agree with a recent Moslem writer: "There is no such thing as the Christian religion or a Christian religion."[3]

Let us turn first to the question of the old and the new, or the continuity in Christian history. It is not necessary to point out that great changes have taken place. The ardent hope of those first Christians was that their Master would return speedily and God's rule would be established and all evil overthrown. In common with their day, their world was geocentric and was peopled with spirits, good and evil. They were far removed from the elaboration of organization and doctrine of later times. And yet modern Christianity feels a deep kinship as it reads the pages of the New Testament which reflect the life and faith of that early day, and to these pages it constantly turns for guidance and inspiration.

The fundamental quest of religion does not change with the ages. It concerns four great themes: the God of trust, the way of life, the means of help, the substance of hope. The early church found its answer to these questions in Jesus; it is not other with modern Christianity. The su-

preme question as to God is that of character, and we still believe in the God of righteous good will as revealed in the word and spirit of Jesus. For us the way of life cannot be expressed in rules, for rules can but imperfectly represent the spirit and they must change with the changing world; in the spirit of Jesus, in his utter trust and devotion in relation to God, in his passion for justice and mercy in relation to men, we of today still find the rule of life for the individual and the social group. However varied the form of doctrine, still we believe in the vital fact that religion is more than command, and that men may have a living fellowship with God in which they receive saving help. And our hope is still that of a new earth in which this divine spirit will rule, and of a life beyond. I am suggesting here not a bald minimum, not a vanishing common denominator, but that which is vital and distinctive.

Broadly speaking, the tie which unites us with the past is that which unites the various groups of the Christian world of today. I do not wish to minimize differences. I recognize how alien and even pagan elements have constantly tended to creep in. The exalting of the institution, the dispute about creed while the ethical was disregarded and the spirit of Jesus was violated by narrowness, bitterness, oppression, and pride, these and other failures must be recognized. The truths noted above have been grasped only in varying degrees. But the place of Jesus, though obscured, has not been challenged. It is astonishing how the personality of Jesus has asserted itself in ever-renewed conquest. The picture of the gospels has been too clear and strong to be lost even when his ethics were being compromised or when theology was turning his person into an abstraction. So far from any loss in his central place, not all the centuries preceding have together given as much attention to the study of his life

and teachings as have the last hundred years, within which time there have appeared practically all the books we possess in this field. At the same time, in our day a new interest is showing itself in those other values found in Jesus by such interpreters as Paul and John.

Provisionally then we may say that Christianity is the religion which has its origin in Jesus and finds in him the source and inspiration for a common faith, a way of life, an experience of saving help, and a common hope for a new world here and for the life to come. Its history has shown an unusual capacity for development. Those who have laid stress upon form and institution have naturally been opponents of change, whether in organization or doctrinal formulation. Those who have stressed the spirit, however, and the fundamental principles noted above, have proven Christianity to be a religion hospitable to new truth and adaptable to new conditions and demands. Its relation to the idea of a dynamic and developing universe, to the conception of the reign of law, to the demands of a new social order, and the ideals of modern democracy, are all indicative of this. Yet these changing conceptions do not transcend or invalidate the convictions which are still central for the Christian faith: the thought of God in terms of moral character, the sacredness of humanity, the true spirit of human living, the ideal of a future rule of truth and justice and good will upon earth, and all this in terms of a broad and universal humanism.

VI—The Christian Church

So far I have considered the Christian fellowship in terms of its inner life and underlying principles. But for a full interpretation of Christianity something should be said about the actual organization and ongoing life of this fellowship, that is, about the Christian church.

First of all, the essentially social nature of Christianity should be recognized. There are, of course, extremes at this point. On the one hand there are those who transform this idea into the conception of the church as a legally prescribed institution, with absolute power and infallible judgment, outside of which there is no truth, no salvation, no divine life. As a matter of fact this loses the fellowship by substituting an institution. At the other extreme is the individualism which has too often been illustrated in Protestantism.

The earliest writings of Christianity give no rules for organizing an institution but make plain the nature of Christianity as a social unity. The figure of the family is suggested by the terms of Father and children. The Christians form a body like the human body, with each part dependent upon the whole and serving it. The church is a building, a temple. And not least expressive is the word fellowship itself, or communion.[4]

Back of these terms there was the life which gave them significance. The actual spirit of love and mutual helpfulness is finely portrayed. They were conscious of a new unifying principle in the world. They saw it transcend the separating lines of their own day and unite Jew and Greek, male and female, bond and free. They were all children of one Father and the common differences disappeared in the light of that supreme fact. And this social aspect lay at the heart of their idea of religion. Of course, religion for them involved an individual relation. There was personal prayer and the individual experience of a new life; in each man was the Spirit which enabled him to say Abba, Father. But it was in and through the fellowship that men came to this life and received this gift. The Spirit was thought of as dwelling in the fellowship and as being thus mediated to the individual. And the new life

that was thus given was social. It was no mere individual ecstasy; it meant love and devotion and service, a life that could be lived out only in relation to men. Christianity thus recognizes both freedom and fellowship, autonomy and loyalty, the individual and the social, and unites them in a higher unity.[5]

In actual history, of course, the ideal has often suffered. The dangers of individualism and institutionalism have already been noted, and they are with us today. Often the lines were narrowly drawn. Men failed to remember the word of Jesus: He that is not against us is for us. They forgot that truth is truth wherever found and that God has not left himself in any people without a witness. They quoted, and misinterpreted, the "compel them to come in." Dogmatism and intolerance and oppression were manifested. They were thus at times less Christian than those whom they opposed.

Christianity as a fellowship faces difficult questions and large problems, for fellowship is both a principle to be apprehended and a spirit to be realized in life. Its first problem lies within. How shall it overcome its own multifarious divisions? There is no question as to the growing interest in this matter within the church. There is a new spirit and it is betokened in many ways. There is the effort to come together in practical coöperation and common service as evidenced locally in a multitude of ways, on a larger scale in associations devoted to special ends of peace, social justice, and reform, in a great association like the Federal Council of Churches, and in notable gatherings like the Stockholm Conference and the Copec gathering in England which paved the way for the former. Coöperation on the mission field is peculiarly significant. On lesser and larger scale organic union of various church bodies is constantly taking place, the most significant be-

ing the recent amalgamation of the Methodist, Presbyterian, and Congregational churches in Canada. There is indeed a danger that men shall overemphasize organization and fail to see that Christian fellowship may be thus expressed but is not thus constituted. For early Christianity united the closest fellowship with a marked degree of freedom and a minimum of ecclesiastical organization and control.

The other problem appears as the Christian church looks outward. What shall be the attitude of the Christian church toward those who do not bear the Christian name? Are there no bonds of fellowship here? Here, too, is a growing largeness of spirit, and that often on the part of those who are most positive in their Christian conviction. They are not merely ready to emphasize the elements that are held in common with a great spiritual faith like that of Judaism, but their attitude has changed toward the religions of the so-called pagan world, an adjective which they wish to discard. All truth for them is one, though it is not everywhere equally present. Their God is one who has ever sought to give his light and life to men. In mission work in such lands they do not begin with invidious comparison but seek first of all points of contact. Without depreciating, then, the intimate fellowship which comes from a common faith, there is the recognition here of a broader tie. Humanity everywhere is sacred. One is our Father and all of us are made in his image. There are deep obligations which bind us to all men as men. We rejoice in every movement of truth and in every expression of what is just and good which we find in any place. We wish to work together toward every high end. And when we go with our missions to other lands, we go not in the pride of what we are but in the desire to serve with what we have. As the possession of our western science

and healing imposes an obligation to impart what we have in schools and hospitals, so we feel that the treasure of truth committed to us imposes like obligation, and we are debtor to all men.

VII—The Life of the Churches

Because of the wide variance in forms, it is not easy to give any picture of the ongoing life of the Christian church. Broadly speaking, there are two groups to be distinguished. For one group Christianity is primarily an ecclesiastical institution, with divinely prescribed organization and delegated authority, controlling the means of salvation of which the sacraments are the essentials. The Greek Orthodox Church, the Roman Catholic Church, and high church groups elsewhere belong here. For the other group, roughly to be identified with Protestantism, the church is a free association whose divine character is to be found not so much in organization as in its spirit, in the indwelling divine Spirit present in the truth proclaimed, in the bond of love, in the ethically renewed life.

The Christian year, especially important for the former group, is more and more observed by the latter also. Its outstanding features are associated with the life of the Founder. The advent season leads up to Christmas as the day of his birth. The Lenten season of forty days leads up to Holy Week, commemorating the last week of Jesus' life. The outstanding days of the latter are Palm Sunday, as the day of his entrance into Jerusalem, Good Friday, the day of his crucifixion, and Easter as the day of his resurrection. These days, like the Christian Sunday, or Lord's Day, only gradually came into recognition. The last-named began as a day of worship, a weekly commemoration of Jesus' resurrection. In analogy with the Jewish Sabbath it became gradually a day of rest, and then,

centuries later, was held by some to be the successor of the Old Testament Sabbath.

With but slight exception, the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper are observed in all the churches. They are regarded as having been instituted by Jesus himself, the former in connection with the command to make disciples, the latter on the occasion of his last supper with his disciples. Baptism is administered but once, and its water is the symbol of cleansing and life-giving through the divine Spirit. The Lord's Supper, or Holy Communion, with its symbols of bread and wine, is celebrated at stated intervals. It looks back as a commemorative feast, it is a sacrament of Christian fellowship, but its symbols primarily signify the divine and renewing life which is mediated to men. The Greek and Roman churches have other sacraments as well.

Speaking especially of Protestantism, worship and teaching are outstanding activities of the churches, Protestantism giving special attention to the pulpit. Religious education receives increasing care. English and American church life is especially marked by organized lay activity and often by a stress on social fellowship. In recent years there has been an increased effort to minister to the varied needs of the community as a whole, going beyond the church fellowship and including physical and intellectual and social needs as well as spiritual. These churches have been especially aggressive in their mission work in both home land and foreign fields. The latter has constantly broadened its scope under the impulse of rendering the largest possible service, and has included education, healing, sanitation, agriculture, and other needs. It is marked by increasing coöperation between the various churches, and by a growing policy looking to the development of independent and self-directing national churches as opposed to

control from the west. The new spirit is marked by a desire to recognize the moral and spiritual values to be found in the ethics and religion of non-Christian lands and by a clear discrimination between the Christian ideals and the unchristian character of much of our western civilization.

Of later date is the interest of the churches in what we may call social problems. That appears in its preaching, as it seeks to bring out the implications of religion for the social life and institutions of men. But it comes to expression also in definite and constructive attempts to shape and change this social life in conformity with the ideals of the Christian faith, and in this field it seeks the coöperation more and more of right-minded men of every faith. Slavery and temperance reform were early illustrations. Today the outstanding social questions that engage us are those of the abolition of war, economic justice, and inter-racial and international relations.

Chapter II

THE CHRISTIAN CONVICTION

I—The Place of Doctrine in Christianity

In one respect the New Testament writings are like those of the Old Testament: their primary interest is not philosophical or doctrinal. There is no discussion here of the being and attributes of God, and no theory is advanced as to the relation of God and the world. Jesus was for them central and supreme, and they gave to him the highest names which they could command: Messiah, Lord, Savior, Son of God; yet there is no outline of a doctrine of the person of Christ. Endless volumes have been written about the work of Christ and the meaning of the death of Jesus, but the New Testament gives us only scattered suggestions though the idea itself was central for them. Their supreme concern was with religion as life, the life which God gave to men, the life which men were to live with God and their fellows. Men have thought of Paul mainly as a theologian, but his primary interest was the vital one of the missionary and pastor. His discussions of doctrine were all occasional, as he was driven to them by the practical necessities of his work.

It is easy, however, to make a wholly wrong deduction from this situation. Religion for these first Christians was no mere matter of mystical experience or moral conduct. At the basis of early Christianity were certain convictions, none the less clearly and strongly held because they were neither debated nor elaborated into a system. They did

not simply summon men to share an emotion or join an organization or adopt new rules of life or religious rites. They held a conviction which, in their opinion, cast light upon every great problem of human life. Paul called his preaching foolishness, but he insisted that he had a deeper wisdom for those who could see; and his letters and reported addresses give ample testimony to the fact that he deliberately set out to commend his faith to the mind of the Graeco-Roman world of his day. The fourth gospel is a peculiarly interesting witness to the early endeavor to appeal to the men of Hellenistic background.

The Christianity of today has not been untouched by the movement of extreme anti-intellectualism. But whatever the few may say, the great number are convinced that religion cannot be an abiding power and limit itself to social ideals, to programs of action, to vague suggestions of experimentalism, to ritualism, or to agreeable emotion. Religion, without doubt, rests upon the needs of men, but it rests equally upon the assurance that there is a world of invisible reality which answers to these demands. The need itself bears witness to the answer. "Be not disturbed; thou wouldst not search for me if thou didst not already possess me."[1] It is all right for a hopeless agnosticism to make the best that it can of its plight, but let it not assume to represent itself as the ideal of religion. The heart of the Hebrew Scriptures is in the great word: "Hear, O Israel; Jehovah our God is one Jehovah." The "thou shalt love" follows and does not precede this. The focal point of the New Testament is the "Our Father, who art in heaven" of Jesus and the "God was in Christ" of Paul, and the golden rule and all the rest are commentary and conclusion. Christianity, first and last, rests upon the conviction that there is something which corresponds with its prayers and hopes, its ideals and loyalties, that in its

God it has the supreme reality of life and its final meaning, that in him goodness and power are one.

To interpret Christianity, then, one must begin with its fundamental convictions, with doctrine, if you will, and especially with that conviction in which all else is summed up, the conviction about God. One may at the same time, however, keep close to the religious center, for it is the convictions by which men have lived with which we are here concerned, rather than the changing formulations and speculations of scholars and churchmen. There is no bias here against theology, of course, which is simply man's ordered thought dealing with his faith, nor against creeds, which have their important place, but the distinction can be made between a living faith and the intellectual forms in which a given age seeks to express this to the mind of its day.

II—The Old Testament Foundation

The Old Testament conception of God lies back of that of the New Testament. Jesus made no proclamation of a new God. Paul and the other Christian leaders believed in the God of their fathers; they found their inspiration in the words of the prophets, their prayers in the psalms. How significant this idea of God was for religion we can see when we turn either to the philosophical speculations or the current cults of the day. He was no abstract first principle, called upon to explain the world, no mere ultimate substance out of which all things were composed. He was not one of many contending gods, nor some mythical and limited savior god knowing only his few devotees. To use one of the greatest of Old Testament phrases, he was a living God, a God who planned and worked, a creating, controlling, redeeming God, moving through nature and history to his great ends. He was the one God, the

God of majesty and power, exalted and holy. Though neither Hebrew nor Christian Scriptures use this term, any more than they use such a term as monotheism, he was a personal God in all the deep meaning of that word. There was a kinship between God and man, and man could know the Most High, and God entered into fellowship with man. Above all was the character of God. He was exalted in goodness as in power; he was the God of infinite righteousness and mercy.

Whatever may be said about other influences that came into Christianity, whether from the popular mystery religions on the one hand or Greek philosophic thought at a later time, here is the nerve of the Christian faith. And when Christianity faces hostile forces today, here is where the line of battle is drawn: Is this world mere mechanism or is the final reality spiritual? Is the Power that rules it blind force or is it personal and good? Is it a God with whom we can have fellowship and has he a purpose for us and our race? And what of our ideals, what of truth and justice and love: are they dreams which we may follow or disregard as we will, or do they belong to the very foundation of reality and have they the right to command?

III—Jesus and the Idea of God

This fundamental religious faith received, however, a distinct development in Christianity, a development connected with those creative religious experiences which were considered in the last lecture and which were related to the person of Jesus and the thought of the indwelling Spirit. We deal first of all with the teaching of Jesus. The question here is not one of originality but of emphasis and of the conclusions which Jesus drew. He sought to bring home to men what it really meant to call God

Father, to believe that love really ruled in this world, that anxiety was a sin, that courage and peace and strength were the privilege of all. He turned men from the consideration of what they themselves were and what they deserved to the thought of what God was, the thought of his infinite mercy for men. From this mercy of God men were to get inspiration to pray, courage to ask forgiveness, willingness to trust.[2]

But it is easy to misunderstand Jesus' teaching here if we lack his moral insight and moral passion, above all if we miss the elements of reverence and awe and fear that were in his religion. The word Father itself had a meaning for his day which we easily miss in a time when we associate it with easy-going, good-natured indulgence that often shirks the highest obligation. Fatherhood meant authority as well as love. To say "Our Father" demanded not only confidence but a reverence as deep as when one added, "hallowed be thy name." He had a strong sense of the power of God. His religion brought release from fear just because a greater fear lay back of it all, the fear of God. He bids men not to be afraid of what may happen to them and adds, "I will tell you whom to fear." To frivolous questioners about the future life he says, "Ye know not the power of God." In prayer his own soul is bowed in deepest humility. He prays to God as "Father, Lord of heaven and earth."[3] And with this God is moral authority. The very mercy of God becomes not an easy gift but a high demand, the most searching demand that can be made. Only so can men receive God's mercy, if they make that mercy the rule of their life in relation to other men. It has seemed to many idealistic, quixotic, impossible; but what he set forth was a life that should find its norm in nothing less than this self-giving love of God, and its satisfaction in this way of unselfishness even though

it meant surrender of life. Only so, he declares, can men be children of their Father; only so, he says, can you be my disciples if you consider your life as something dedicated, devoted, already given up, like men who go out to execution bearing their cross.[4] And the same element of inexorable moral demand is found in the idea of judgment, which more easy-going days have sought to eliminate from his teaching.

Of greater significance, though, than the teachings of Jesus for the Christian conception of God were the person and deeds of Jesus. I am not speaking here of the later definitions of Christian creeds. Too many have supposed that in these definitions about the deity of Jesus lay the essence of Christian faith. The great question for the Christian faith, as for every other, is how to think of God, and the great conviction of Christianity is that the character of God has been revealed in the spirit of Jesus and in his life and death. The early church did not begin with a doctrine about Jesus but with an experience of God. In his teaching they heard the voice of God speaking to them. They believed that the Spirit of God dwelt in him and ruled all his life. In his word of forgiveness they found God's word to them. In his death they saw a deed of God, declaring at once his judgment on human sin and his mercy to the sinner. And the seal on all this was their assurance that he had appeared to them and that God had raised him from the dead. No one can understand early Christianity without understanding this experience and attitude. And the end of it all was that they understood God in the light of this experience. "God was in Christ," they said, and their faith became the faith in "the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ." They saw "the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ."[5] They confessed their faith in a christlike God.

IV—God as Indwelling Spirit

The second great element in this creative experience of early Christianity, as we have seen, was the deep sense of the indwelling Spirit of God, the Holy Spirit. There is a long history that lies back of this idea alike in the Hebrew Scriptures and in other religions. It represented commonly the idea of the divine as coming upon the human spirit and bringing unique powers. The common conception moved upon a somewhat low plane; the spirit was thought of as something alien to man, a strange and inscrutable force entering man and overmastering him, whether for good or evil. But while we have stories like that of Samson and of Saul among the prophets as illustrating this work of the Spirit,[6] we have also Isaiah's conception of the Spirit of Jehovah as "the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of Jehovah."[7] In one sense all man's higher life comes from God and "the breath of the Almighty giveth them understanding,"[8] but the distinctive effect of God's Spirit is seen in the exceptional endowment of the prophet and of all those whom God sets aside for special service. One of the marks of the messianic age is that this Spirit will be poured out upon all God's people.[9]

There is no more striking feature in the religious life of early Christianity than the sense of the indwelling presence of God in their midst. It was this, equally with their faith in Jesus, that made them feel that the messianic age had dawned and that they were the people of God, a new people. Cruder conceptions of the work of the Spirit were not lacking, as in the high valuation placed by some on the ecstatic "speaking with tongues." But there is a definite development along the higher lines suggested in the Old

Testament. The Spirit is distinctly ethical; love and joy and peace are the mark of its presence.[10] It is the Christ Spirit and the test of its presence is the marks of his character. Further, its presence marks not the exception but the normal Christian life; it belongs not to the few but to every disciple as such.[11]

There were obvious elements of danger in this idea of the gift of a divine Spirit to men. It led easily to an overemphasis on the emotional and subjective and individual, and so to fanaticism and disorder. Paul had to meet these dangers in his churches, especially at Corinth, and they have recurred at intervals. But Paul's teaching supplied the corrective in its stress upon the ethical. The Spirit, he teaches, is not only a gift but a task (*Gabe und Aufgabe*): "If we live by the Spirit, by the Spirit let us also walk."[12] The Spirit is from God, but it is not something that overwhelms the human as an alien force. It comes rather as that which is kindred to the human, indeed as that in which alone the human comes to its true fulfillment. The Spirit is from God but it becomes man's true spirit, and he must live it out. The Spirit means truth and righteousness and love, and no man can have these except as he lives them. And the primacy among the gifts of the Spirit belongs to love, says Paul in his great lyric poem, and without this all other gifts are nothing.[13]

This idea of the indwelling Spirit has had a varied history in the Christian Church. It represented the inner side of religion as against the institutional; it stood for the individual, for freedom and democracy (compare the interesting incident of Numbers xi. 16-30). It lent itself, of course, to abuse and was naturally unwelcome to those who stood for order and authority and the organization. As we follow the history from the second century on, we see the bishop winning out against the prophet. The idea

of the Spirit was made safe for ecclesiasticism. In theory it became part of an abstract doctrine of God. In practice it was associated with the Sacred Scriptures handed down from the past and with the ruling episcopacy of the present; in other words, it was safely institutionalized.

There were, of course, always groups within Christianity who appreciated this doctrine in its vital and inner meaning, and there are indications of a larger appreciation of it today. Several influences are coöperating to this end. Perhaps the most important is the new appreciation of religion on the divine side, of religion as that which is given to men. We have watched in the last generation or two the persistent and very necessary attempt to ethicize and socialize religion, to interpret it in terms of conduct and of individual and social responsibility. This is the "activistic" side of our religion which some critics consider the significant aspect especially of the Christian churches in America. There is a growing realization, however, that, necessary though this expression of religion is, religion itself must find its source and power in the life that is given of God. The increasing interest in mysticism points in the same direction, as does also the growing appreciation of the importance of worship, especially in those Protestant churches that have laid the emphasis upon expressional activities. These needs and interests are met by the Christian idea of the Spirit as expressing the conviction that God is not simply the being to be believed in and served and obeyed, but that he is the strength by which we live, the very life of our life, the indwelling presence.

A second point at which the idea of the Spirit is of aid to modern Christian thinking is in the problem of the relation of the ethical and the religious, using the latter term now in the stricter sense. Religion lives as that which finds its source and strength in God, as that which is given.

But the higher religion must at the same time be free and ethical, and that through and through. It must be man's choice and deed; it must be his spirit and character. For such an ethical religion the first demand is the great vision of the Hebrew prophets that God is first of all not mere power but goodness and righteousness, and that man is acceptable to him only as he shows a like spirit. But we must go a step further and show how in religion this ethical demand meets with the help by which it is achieved. That unity Christian thinkers find in this idea of a Spirit, or life, which is at once God's gift to us and the life that we are to live. That is so because this Spirit is not a magical essence, as sacramentarianism has sometimes thought of it, nor a sheer compelling force, nor yet an emotional state, but the spirit of truth and love and righteousness, that is, the Spirit of an ethical God.

The relation of this idea to the Christian church is also being better apprehended today. One branch of Christianity has emphasized the divineness of the church but has seen this in the church as an institution, with its clergy and sacraments. On the Protestant side the tendency has been to see the divine in the life of the individual believer and not to appreciate sufficiently the social. The New Testament gives little basis for the institutionalism of the former group and no more basis for the individualism of the latter. The idea of the indwelling Spirit, however, unites the truth of both. That Spirit is no mere individual possession. It is in the associated life of his children that God can most fully express himself. God dwells in the fellowship of those that love him and in such fellowship he is most readily found of men. In this life-giving Spirit, which itself as the spirit of love and faith creates the fellowship, we are to seek for the divine character of the church: not in errorless creeds or an errorless Bible, not

in sacramental forms or ecclesiastical organization, but in the manifest presence of the divine Spirit. The test of such a church of the Spirit will be first its ability to make men sensible of the presence of God and to lead them into fellowship with the Eternal; second, the presence within it of the spirit of faith and righteousness, of love and service. It is too much to say that this conception represents the controlling idea of the churches of today; it is not too much to hold that it represents the genuine spirit of the Christian religion and a growing conviction among its adherents.

Finally, the idea of the Spirit gives depth and meaning for religion to the conception of divine immanence. That popular idea does not necessarily have a religious meaning, and it can easily move into a pantheism that rules out all thought of a God who is more than the sum of nature and man, and all religion that involves personal relation with such a God. In the idea of the indwelling Spirit given to men by God, there remains the sense of a personal God and of one who is more than the sum of the finite. At the same time it meets that demand for an immanent God which marks our day. For we can no longer believe in a God who merely acts from without. We conceive of religion not as something done to us or for us simply, but as a living experience within us. The old deistic idea of God and nature is impossible today, the conception of a God above and without and of a static world created in the past and controlled from outside; the deistic view is equally impossible as regards the world of the spirit. Whether we speak of inspiration, of individual religious experience and guidance, or of the movement of God in history, the same problem arises: How can we avoid a purely naturalistic psychologism and historicism on the one hand, losing God in the impersonal and the finite, and yet not fall

on the other hand into an outworn mechanical supernaturalism? The position which Christian scholars take increasingly is the idea of a God who is energy and spirit and life, moving in his world yet more than his world, the power that sustains yet at the same time a personal power. So far now as this relates itself to the divine in man, to his higher life of truth and righteousness and love, we think of the Holy Spirit.

V—Christian Faith and Trinitarian Doctrine

So far in this discussion there has been no reference to the formulations of the doctrine of God as contained in the great historic creeds, the Nicene and Athanasian. One reason for this is that these definitions have played a larger part in theology than in the actual religious life of the church, and it is the ongoing religious life of Christianity that I am seeking to interpret. It would be quite fair to say that the large majority of Christian folk would look quite blank if these creeds were read to them and they were asked to declare their meaning and their value for personal faith. On the other hand, it should be clearly understood that these creeds grew out of vital Christian convictions which the men of that day sought to express in their own way, and that these underlying convictions remain with the great mass of people today who call themselves Christian. These abiding convictions are not mere inherited opinions; they live on because they root in an experience of God that is constantly renewed. We have considered them historically; we must look at them now in terms of present-day religious life and thought.

Christianity believes in one God, Almighty, maker of heaven and earth. It believes that this God is alike righteous and merciful, that he is of his very nature redemptive mercy. It believes that in a unique sense this

self-revealing and redeeming God was present, in his truth and in his love, in Jesus of Nazareth, that here we have the very life of God incarnate in man, the word of God to which we hearken, the mercy of God in which we trust. The vital element here is not found in an abstract theory of how such incarnation took place. The test lies elsewhere. Do Christian men believe that God is like Jesus Christ, a God of utter righteousness joined to mercy, a God who graciously summons men to fellowship and service? Do they believe that the highest power in this world is not cleverness and brute force, but is justice and love, and that a man may utterly trust in these and not be put to shame? Do they believe that the goal of the ages for our humanity has been revealed in one who spoke of a coming rule of truth and righteousness and good will in a brotherhood of men? Do they believe that here is made known the will of God for all human living, for individuals and nations, in loyalty to the spirit that was in Jesus? By such searching tests I believe it is revealed that, while in practice the Christian folk have lagged far behind, yet so far as conscience and conviction are concerned they are one with the men of the first generation. Enough has been said concerning the thought of a God who gives himself as indwelling Spirit so that this does not need further statement.

Here is the basis for the abiding trinitarian conception of God and of the divinity of Christ. At the same time we see here the need of distinguishing between fundamental convictions growing out of religious experience and the way in which these convictions are interpreted and set down in creeds. Religion faces always this dilemma: it must express itself in terms of thought if it is to satisfy itself and reach others; yet at the same time it knows that it is dealing with the inexpressible. God cannot be shut

up in a definition, and the deepest experiences cannot be put into words. Further, theology can use only the thought terms of its day, and both human thought and religious experience in proportion as they are vital will be always growing. The thought terms used in the ancient creeds were those of Greek philosophy. Divine and human were conceived of in terms of substance and in relations of sharp contrast or mutual exclusion. For us the categories of the personal and ethical are the important ones. We stress the kinship of divine and human as belonging to the same order. When the divine comes to the human it is not as if two alien substances were united; it is rather the human finding its true and full life through the divine, and the divine finding its freest means of expression in the human.

One other change may be noted here. Modern Christian theology is far less ready to assume omniscience and be dogmatic than it was of old. It has a clearer realization of its limits. It thinks of Christianity more as an ongoing life than as a supernaturally communicated doctrine. It believes in a revealing and redeeming God, but it sees that this God comes to men not in verbal communication but in life impartation. And it understands better where the heart of religion lies.

VI—Recent Tendencies in the Thought of God

There remain to be considered some of the more significant lines along which the Christian conception of God is developing today. The changes considered here have reference mainly to the question of the relation of God to the world. Here is the point with which religion is deeply concerned, what God means in his world and how he actually bears upon human life. But this also is the point that is affected directly by man's enlarging experience and by

all that knowledge of the world which comes to him through science, history, and his social relations. It is inevitable that there should be conflict here, but it might also be expected that religious faith would be purified and enriched. That is what many think has happened. The purpose of this discussion is not so much to consider the points of conflict as to point out the direction in which Christian thought has been moving under these influences.

We may note first the influence of science. The prestige of modern science is evident to us all; its exactness on the one hand, its practical utility in application to human life on the other, have profoundly impressed our day. For some it has become a sort of a new God, whose name is to be printed in capitals and properly adored, and whose priests gain a new sort of infallibility, not only in their proper field, but when they wander into realms of which they have no special knowledge and pronounce their opinions, for example, on immortality and God. Religious leaders have often contributed to this by the eagerness with which they have caught up crumbs from the scientists' table which might seem to afford food for faith, and quoted the verdicts of men of science when they aided religion's side. From under this obsession we are moving out. In the main it was never shared by the real scientists. We are seeing that the exactness of natural science is made possible only by its being limited to a narrow field, a field which excludes the ideals, the values, the realities of the personal-spiritual world, which form the focal point of human interest. We are recognizing too the limitations of the practical contribution which science makes, that its applications in invention, industry, and engineering may become instruments of self-indulgence or even human destruction equally as well as of human advance.

But our concern here is more with positive influences

and these are also undoubted. Order, energy, evolution are three great words to be considered here. Philosophically they are all old; in the meaning and prestige which they derive from modern science they are new. We have not proved it, but we believe today in an ordered world whose reign of law extends to every realm of life. We interpret this world no longer as something static, in terms of things, but dynamically, in terms of energy; we find reality in action. And for that very reason we think of this world as a growing, a developing world; and whether it be organic life or the institutions of society or the religious life and belief, we try to understand the world that is by tracing its evolution from earlier stages.

There is a certain danger that we shall overestimate the influence of science on religion here, or its conflict if we view it as such. The writer of the first chapter of Genesis would probably have been little disturbed by the ideas of a modern evolutionist; his concern was with the conviction that this world of order and life came from the hand of God and moved toward his ends, whether through the process of days or of ages. But certain results science, joined to other influences, has helped to bring about. It has moved against the idea of a distant ruler with his occasional act of interference, as it has against the idea of a long-ago creator who has through the ages simply looked down upon a completed world. It has helped to bring us to the idea of God as indwelling, creative energy. It has helped us to see the supernatural, or divine, not in the occasional that is interjected, but in the inner aspect of reality that is always present. It has made us look for a God who is within and not without; it has directed us to nature, history, our own experience, that we might find God there in the deeper meanings, the final purpose, the ultimate power, the higher values which life shows.

But the social movement has also been of great and growing influence here, not merely in the realm of ethics but in that of theology. Perhaps the word democracy will express, as well as any the ideals here involved, democracy not primarily as a form of political organization but as expressing a social faith. Fundamental for it is the conviction of the worth of humanity, that human life is the one sacred element of our world, that this life should have the fullest opportunity for self-realization, and that freedom in self-direction is needed here for the individual and the social group. The fundamental conception here involved lends itself easily to extremes, is slow of realization because of the high demands which it makes on men, and must be related to other principles; but it is impossible that humanity, once having envisaged such a goal, should ever permanently renounce it. We see its slow but sure movement today in politics, in the relations of nations and peoples, in industry, in education, and not least in religion. Such ideals cannot obtain in the remaining life of men and leave religion as the relation of man to an autocratic Monarch. A God whose commands are apart from any appeal to conscience, a system whose dogmas must be accepted blindly on authority, an obedience that comes from compulsion and not conviction, a religion of submissive servants instead of the free fellowship of sons with the Father of their spirits, this has less and less place today.

Over against this we are gaining a truer conception of God. He is still the transcendent God, the God of majesty and power. But what he seeks of men is more than subjection; it is free sons, freely surrendered to him not as power but as goodness and life, as the one in whom their true life is found. He wants men of understanding who can work with him, "not servants but friends." The king-

dom that he seeks is a rule of righteousness and good will, and that can come only as the religion of free men. Of course, the principle of obligation is not wanting here; we deal here not with a principle of individualism or license, but with an obligation more searching than any autocracy can ever enforce. But it is an obligation which men freely assume, the men who have found the highest good, which is God, and recognize its absolute right to command, the men who have seen the meaning of the whole, the great society, and know that in surrender to this the meaning and achievement of their own life is to be found. And when they surrender to God, they know that it is truth and love and righteousness to which they surrender. And so they find God wherever these are found. He is under the same law as his children, for there is no law except that of his spirit. The highest life of God is found, therefore, not in the powers which distant suns show forth, but in such love and service as were shown in the spirit of Jesus. The immanent God is not now merely the sustaining energy which science suggests; he is the indwelling Spirit of love and sacrifice. He is the comrade of men, their fellow worker; and all good will, all devotion, all loyalty and justice and truth which are seen among men, these are the marks of his presence. The power that sustains the heavens remains, but there grows upon us the vision of a higher power, the power of truth and love and right, as the power upon which this God depends to secure his ends among men.

I have spoken of science and society in their influence upon our Christian thinking, but a third influence demands notice here and that is religion. The profoundest influences in developing our thinking have come from within. The historical, the comparative, and the psychological studies of religion have all aided us. The last

two have brought us to a better understanding of religion itself, as we have found it in the realm of human experience and related to individual and social values, rather than in the institutional. The historical study has helped us to understand better our own faith. The prophets and Jesus have far more direct meaning for us today than a few generations ago. The ideas associated with the word democracy above spring from this ancient source, and the prophets and Jesus and the men of the New Testament have been the greatest influences in securing recognition for them.

Every movement tends to run to extremes. The idea of the immanence of God has been especially strong in the movements noted above. Men have reacted violently from the idea of a God removed from his world, a God acting from without, the supernatural as an intrusion into the natural. In return the question may well be raised whether men have not been in danger of losing God altogether. Do these modern movements do justice to religion and to the God whom religion knows? In some cases we must answer with a decided, No. For some, religion becomes a purely biological process studied on a higher plane but with no other question to be asked than whether it conserves life. Sometimes it is considered purely in terms of psychological description, and the question as to whether God is anything more than an ideal is ruled out. Or else an idealized humanity becomes God and the thought of any other God than this is held up as disloyalty to man. God himself, in the sense in which religion has always used that term, is lost in the historical process, the psychological description, or the social value.

Over against this immanentism certain other movements need to be registered, some sober and historical, others quite as extreme, but together giving some concep-

tion of the varied currents of Christian thought today. Common to them all, as against a one-sided immanentism, is the conviction that there is a reality greater than man, greater than this world of the finite which we know, and that man can come into saving fellowship with this higher world of the spirit, that is, with God. Sometimes the approach is made in the name of a more careful study of religion itself. That is true, for example, of two such notable leaders as Rudolf Otto of Germany and Archbishop Soederblom of Sweden, not to mention numerous scholars in England and America.[14] The most significant and most influential volume on religion of the last decade is Otto's book on *The Idea of the Holy*. The holy here is not the ethical but the supernatural in the broad sense of that term, the transcendent which man knows and before which he bows in reverence and awe. Speaking for religion on the highest plane, Professor A. N. Whitehead of Harvard, in his recent and notable volume on *Religion in the Making*, declares that religion is not concerned simply with values but with values grounded in the world order. Here is the central question for religion, the question of God, whether there be a God and what he is and how our life is related to him. And religion means on the one hand the loyalty which gives itself to this God and on the other the appropriation of this God for its own good.

It is a little hard sometimes to be patient with fundamentalism, especially with the dogmatism, the intolerance, and the obscurantism exhibited by certain of its aggressive leaders. Yet at the heart of it there is an intense and sincere religious concern, the fear that modernism means the loss of God. Their supernaturalism may be crude and mechanical, but they feel that they are battling for religion itself, for the divine, the more than human, without which religion cannot live. And there is a proper

concern here, however faulty their method or their solution.

Another interesting movement is that of the so-called "theology of crisis" in Germany and Switzerland.[15] It is a protest against immanence, a one-sided insistence upon transcendence. The leaders attack rigorously modern religious thought: it is, for them, humanism, centering in man and not God; it is psychologism, reducing religion to states of human consciousness; it is historicism, levelling everything to the relative and finite; it is at times mysticism, but here, too, it remains with human states of emotion instead of rising to God. We have something other in this movement than our fundamentalism, for these men are equally opposed to the effort to sum up religion in arid dogmas. In the post-war Europe of disappointed hopes and waning faith, like Isaiah Ben Amoz "in the year that King Uzziah died," they have caught a vision of the Lord high and lifted up and insist that here is the hope of men.

The defect of these last two movements is apparent. They fail to face the question, in the light of our present knowledge, as to how the divine enters into the human, as to how God is related to this world of nature and history. You cannot remain here with assertion and paradox. God is unknown, but God is also known; he is mystery, but he is also revealed or there would be no religion. God is far, but he is also near. Until man finds that which is more than himself, religion with its reverence and awe, its submission and its confidence, cannot come into being. But neither can there be any religion until this God somehow relates himself to man, and that means to man's knowledge, to the inner movement of his conscious life, to the ongoings of history.

"Today there is but one religious dogma in debate," says Professor Whitehead; "and that is what you mean by

'God.' This is the fundamental religious dogma."[16] And the task which Christian thought faces is to show how transcendence and immanence belong together in its thought of the divine, how it may find God in the ongoing processes of nature and history and human experience, and yet know that this God is more than the sum of the finite, that in him man is related to the whole of his world, that in him his highest ideals have abiding reality and power, that in him he has found the final meaning of his life and the sure ground for hope of its realization.

Chapter III

THE CHRISTIAN WAY

Religion has often been made to play a very narrow role. It has been identified with some sacred institution and its rites, or with the individual and emotional, or again, more rarely, with matters of belief or conduct. We cannot, however, make its scope less than the whole of life. And yet it is something more than the sum of our beliefs and codes and institutions and emotions. It is life looked at under a given aspect, the aspect of the eternal. It is man trying to find himself in his world, but not merely as one item joined with many others to make a whole. It is a whole which has some unity, some meaning; and man is trying to find his relation to it believing that in the right relation the meaning and success of his own life can be found.

Religion, then, is man's life "in the light and by the power of the Eternal." Man lives indeed in the midst of time, but it is the eternal which gives meaning to the passing. Religion thus casts its light upon every phase of life. This aspect we have considered in speaking of "The Christian Conviction." But there is another side to this. Religion is not only a conviction about the meaning of the world and life; it is a way of living that follows upon that conviction. For religion, faith is never mere belief or opinion; it is a conviction that calls for a certain kind of living.

To this life of religion there are always two sides. They

vary largely in relation to each other and yet in a measure both are always present. They are the sides of trust and of action, of expectation and obligation, the elements of rest and of movement. These two elements are present in the Christian religion and furnish the themes for the last two discussions. If there be such a God as the Christian God, a God of infinite power and righteousness and good will, then man need not be afraid in his world; he has a God whom he may trust and from whom he may expect help. The logic of that faith for life is confidence and courage, peace of soul and a high hope. It means a religion of hope and of help, and this will be the theme of the last discussion, "The Christian Hope."

But there is the element of action also that flows from such a faith. If we believe in such a God, a God of righteousness and mercy, a God who is carrying out great purposes in his world, then there is a summons to our will. The human life must make an active response. What must I do? Religion is life, but the life is one that I must live out for God and with God, as well as receive from God. There is more here than what is commonly meant by ethics. We must include nothing less than all those relations which make up our life and give it meaning. This aspect of the Christian religion is expressed by our theme, "The Christian Way." It may be conveniently discussed in terms of four relations, a man's relation to God, to fellow man, to the world, and to himself.

I—The Life With God

It is clear that man's relation to God will depend upon his conception of God. We may conceive God as abstract substance or as impersonal life or power. In such case not much more is possible in a religious way than a vague sentiment of awe and an attitude of submission; we are

but helpless parts of one stupendous whole, whose life moves on without knowledge of us, without love or hate, without wisdom or purpose. But even if we think of God as personal and good, there is still a wide range of difference possible and this has appeared in Christian history. Often the side of transcendence has been emphasized and God has been conceived in terms of the great ruling Power. In this case man is primarily subject and his ideal relation is that of unquestioning submission to that revelation of doctrine and law which has been supernaturally communicated. King and subject become here the dominant ideas.

Widely influential has been another conception which has often gone hand in hand with this. God is thought of as essence, or substance, the divine as contrasted with our human, the immortal over against the corrupt and finite, the spiritual as against the material. The influence of Greek philosophy turned Christian thought in this direction. Sacramentarianism and certain kinds of mysticism go with this idea, as indicating man's relation to God. We must distinguish here between sacramentarianism and the use of sacraments. In the sacraments we do not necessarily leave the personal, the spiritual, the ethical. In sacramentarianism, however, these rites and others, added especially in the Roman Catholic and Orthodox churches, become the indispensable channel by which the divine comes into the human, and they act in a necessary, quasi-magical manner. The divine is conceived more as the essence that is received than as the person with whom man has fellowship in faith.

But there is another place of emphasis in our conception of God which is more distinctively Christian. It is the emphasis upon the personal and ethical, while still holding to the idea of a God who transcends the human in

majesty and power and righteousness. It is the conception seen with the eighth century prophets and Jesus, and it marks the direction of the best Christian thought today. From it flows the personal-ethical conception of religion as against the institutional or magical. It is as simple as Micah's great word: "to do justly, and to love kindness, and to walk humbly with thy God," or as the great symbol of Jesus who draws the circle of religion through the three points: Father, son, brother. It has room for the awe and fear of an Isaiah bowed in the temple; it has place for the unexplained mystery that is never separable from the Eternal. But it has no place for magic, no place for command that does not appeal to conscience, nor for a power, though it be that of God, which does not rest upon righteousness, nor for a doctrine that has no relation to reason. God is person, righteous and merciful, and man's highest life is one of personal fellowship with him in which we share his life.

It is on the basis of this word fellowship that the Christion idea of personal religion can best be set forth. The first aspect of this fellowship is trust. The presence of anxious fear is the mark of paganism, for it is a practical denial of God, as Jesus points out in the Sermon on the Mount.[1] The final test of a spiritual faith is whether we dare to look the world in the face, this world of modern science with its infinite reaches, the world of human life with its dark evils, and say: I believe in God and he is good. But if religion can say that, then the first mark of its life should be quietness and confidence and peace. If it dares to believe that the world has meaning and its meaning is good, then its life with God will be marked by a constant attitude of trust. It is easy to criticize this, to ridicule as absurd the idea that in a universe of a million million suns, the Power that moves in it all should be

concerned with the creature of a moment that lives on this inconsequential fragment that is called the earth planet. But the Christian faith does not mean that God has no other ends, that our humanity is his sole interest. What it means is that, in interpreting our world and forming our idea of God, we take from our experience not the lowest that we know but the highest, not some idea of matter or machine or blind force, but reason and moral character and conscious purpose. But if God is like that, then his goodness and care will include us, and we may believe and trust. Such a trust means a liberation for activity, a confidence which is the condition of strength.

The fellowship of faith, however, does not exclude the attitude of reverence and awe, though certain types of Christian piety have sometimes failed here. The word Father with Jesus has no such meaning of sentimental affection and easy good nature as too often attaches to that term in home life today. There is nothing here that does not belong to the religion of free men, nothing abject or demeaning. That very righteousness of God which is ground of our trust is also a summons to the soul of man to bow down in reverent worship of holiness, in humble confession of his sin and need, and in sincere devotion. So far from being the religion of subject or slave, this is the religion of true freedom, the religion of the man who has found his highest life and surrenders to it, whose soul is lifted up because he has found that before which he can bow. He knows the truth of Dante's great word, "In his will is our peace," and of the psalmist's confession:

> I delight to do thy will, O my God;
> Yea, thy law is within my heart.

Moral kinship is another aspect of this fellowship with God. The great discovery which the Hebrew prophets

made was that of moral character as the supreme fact about God, and the great conclusion which they drew was that the supreme demand of such a God must be moral character in man. We are to walk humbly with God, but there can be no such walk unless we deal justly and love kindness. If you are bringing a gift, says Jesus, and remember that you are at enmity with your brother, go first and become reconciled to your brother. In God's sight that takes precedence over sacrifice. Still more striking is the passage in which Jesus treats of what it means to be a son of the Father. Your Father, he declares, is utter good will, a good will that reaches out to the evil and ungrateful; you are his children only as you share that spirit of good will. The son is not a protégé, not the pampered recipient of favor; he is one who shares the spirit of the Father. Fellowship is communion, having in common. The divine fellowship comes as a privilege but as a great moral demand as well. Christian history is full enough of substitutes that have been offered here, gifts at the altar, confessions of orthodox belief, religious emotion, observance of ritual, devotion to the church as an institution. But the primary demand of fellowship does not lie at any one of these points; it is likeness in spirit.[2]

One other aspect of this fellowship with God has come to have increasing place in Christian thought in modern times. We have already noted a changing conception of the relation of God to his world. We have joined to transcendence the idea of immanence. God is indwelling energy and purposive action, not the mere creator of a long-finished world. The creative working of God today, however, we see not in the physical realm alone but in the spiritual, in the making of a new humanity. The idea of a coming rule of God, or kingdom of God, had a central place in early Christianity. It is regaining its place today

but in changed form. Then it was more apocalyptic; it was to come by the sudden deed of God in judgment and power. We still look up and pray, "Thy kingdom come," but the impending event has given way to the passing centuries, the swift revolution has given place to the idea of growth. What is more important, we realize better how God works with men; not as absolute Power enforcing his will from without do we apprehend him, but as indwelling Spirit, working with and through men. All this gives a new aspect to our thought of fellowship with God. It becomes active, not merely contemplative. To use the title of a recent volume, it means "Sharing in Creation."[3] And the Christian man takes over for himself the word of Jesus as reported in the fourth gospel: "My Father worketh until now, and I work."[4]

With all the emphasis upon the ethical and practical, it is still true that there is a marked movement to a greater appreciation of prayer and worship in recent years. No report of present-day Christian life can omit this. One reason may be that we have found that the summons to action is not effective if inspiration and power be lacking. And it is equally clear that a great period of development in science and invention, in engineering as applied to manufacture and commerce, instead of leading to a millennium, may simply bring on a speedier destruction of the race than would otherwise be possible. We are feeling the need of those resources of the spirit which must come from God. But the main reason is that deep hunger of the human spirit which cannot be satisfied with the gifts of God if it has not God himself. God we may have only in fellowship; and in a religion of fellowship, prayer will be the focal point. Here is at once its supreme expression and the source of its inspiration. Prayer is fellowship with the Eternal come to conscious expression. If God be

more than a philosophic principle or an impersonal essence or power, if he be a living God, personal and good, then it is inevitable that we shall seek him in conscious fellowship, that we shall bring to him adoration and thanksgiving, ideals and aspirations, confession and petition and devotion.

The conception of prayer as the expression of man's fellowship with God helps to make plain some of the defects which the Christian practice tends to show. Too often prayer becomes simply petition, a convenient short cut for gaining our ends. Again, it may be a matter of formal routine followed from a sense of duty; or men may have trust in it as a performance with some magical virtue. Present day Christian thought by no means excludes prayer as petition, though its background is changed naturally by our newer conception of an ordered universe. But the ethical-spiritual aspect of prayer has become more apparent to us. We see it more as meditation, bringing before us the great realities of the world of the spirit and, supremely, God himself. It is the place for the clarifying of vision and the strengthening of ideal, as a man brings all his life into the presence of the Eternal, a place for the conquest of the lower, the affirmation of the higher. Paul Sabatier has put well this ethical side in his Life of St. Francis of Assisi.

> With St. Francis, as with Jesus, prayer has this character of effort which makes of it the greatest moral act. . . . For him, as for his Master, the end of prayer is communion with the heavenly Father, the accord of the divine with the human. . . . But it is not without difficulty that the soul unites itself to God, or, if one prefers, that it finds itself. A prayer ends at last in divine communion only when

it began by a struggle. The patriarch of Israel had already divined this: The God who passes by tells his name only to those who stop him and do him violence to learn it. He blesses only after long hours of conflict.[5]

II—The Life With Men

The second of the great relations which make up our life is that with our fellow men. Let it be frankly said that in practice the Christian church has too often contented itself with the less exacting matters of ritual and creed. But that does not square with the Christian ideal which I am seeking to interpret, and it certainly does not meet the increasing emphasis of our day. In actual amount of material the gospels and epistles of the New Testament give far more attention to the ethical than to the doctrinal and ecclesiastical combined, and the ethical is largely social. Present day Christian thought is renewing this emphasis. Our failure here is all too clear. We have done pretty well with the ancient command about subduing the earth and about being fruitful and multiplying; we have the material problem in hand. If we knew how to live together and work together, there would be no question about plenty for all. As it is we have the strife of class and race, industrial conflict and injustice, and war's incalculable devastation, material and spiritual, with its threat of final destruction. We have learned to rule over nature but not to live with each other. The Christian churches feel more and more the challenge that is here involved. The social meaning of religion is increasingly being brought to the fore. The notable Copec Conference in England, the even more significant international meeting of Christian churches at Stockholm with practically every branch represented but that of Rome, the

work of our Federal Council of Churches, the movements within the individual denominations, all this testifies to a new conscience in this field.

What does Christianity say about this matter of the life of man with man? It views it not as addendum to religion proper but as integral to religion itself. That follows necessarily from the conception of God already indicated. If God be righteous, then only in the spirit and life of righteousness can man have fellowship with him. If God be love, then we must share that spirit. "He that abideth in love," says a great interpreter of Christianity, "abideth in God, and God abideth in him." But this is for John not some mystic ecstasy but a very definite attitude toward our fellow men: "He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, cannot love God whom he hath not seen."[6] In similar manner Paul gives the primacy to love above other elements of the religious life, above knowledge and sacrifice and even faith, in that hymn of love in his letter to the Corinthians which is perhaps the finest passage from his pen.[7] Jesus' own position we have already noted in the passage where he declares that the mark of the children of God is that they show his universal good will to men.

And side by side with this conception of God stands the Christian conception of man. What man is must determine our attitude toward him, and for Christianity man is of infinite worth not because of what he has achieved but because of his possibilities and because he belongs in the realm of the personal with God and not in the realm of things.

On the basis of these two conceptions, those of God and man, we can study the Christian principles which govern man's life with men. The first is the principle of reverence for humanity. It is the heart of that rising tide of

social faith and life which, for want of a better term, we call Democracy. Not things come first, but men; not property, but persons; not institutions, but people. Business and state, ancient customs like slavery and war, even the organizations of religion, all must meet this final test: What is your worth in terms of human welfare? And not the welfare of the few! Not the select group, not some upper class of privilege, or self-appointed bearers of culture, or those of fancied racial superiority. It is man as man who is sacred. The differences of color and capacity and culture are not denied; it is the transcendent value of what men have in common that is asserted. We see today the tremendous forces that make against the application of this principle. Our industrial organization denies it, as does race and color prejudice here in our own midst, and the exploitation of weaker peoples by the stronger. If such a principle is to have effect in human relations it will be only as it is enforced by fundamental religious conviction. The so-called Christian peoples have been too often recreant here to their own faith. But Jesus' conception is plain and his conduct makes the principle even plainer—his treatment of the poor and the weak, of outcast harlot and hated tax gatherer, of Roman officer and scorned Samaritan, the reverence for the human that he showed in all this, and his flaming indignation against those who made even little children to stumble.

What Christian leaders are feeling most keenly today is the way in which our social institutions, as they have developed in the last couple of centuries especially, industrialism, nationalism, militarism, contravene this principle. We are beginning to see that, with this principle, no man, no class of men, no race, is wise enough or good enough to dominate the lives of fellow human beings, to determine what they shall think and say and do. We cannot make

masters of one race and keep another in permanent subjection. We cannot give to one group economic control, and make tools of others. And the same principle is equally opposed to Nordic propagandists, K. K. Ks., and all the appeals to prejudice and fear and hatred and pride which mark so many movements of our day.

Inseparable from this is the second principle, that of justice. One must hasten, however, to lift this word above the level on which it is too commonly placed. It denotes no hard legalism, apportioning to each what he merits of punishment or award. It is not our modern insistence upon rights. Its concern, as in the Sermon on the Mount, is with righteousness not rights, not *jus* but *justitia.* Its inspiration is the vision of a higher order, righteous and good, which shall insure every man that full chance of life which God has purposed for all his children. A fair chance, a square deal, these modern phrases suggest something of the meaning. The highest dreams and noblest passions of human kind are here engaged. It follows directly from that reverence for human personality which compels us to look upon men always as ends, never as tools. As the prophets show again and again, it is closely allied to mercy.[8] It is positive, constructive, and involves self-dedication to that new world which shall bring the largest opportunity for men.

But the fundamental Christian principle for the life among men is good will, or love. The Christian usage needs careful definition here. It is neither the love of passion, on the one hand, nor yet that of personal inclination on the other. It is a love which finds its prototype in the mercy and good will of God. It is ethical, under direction of the will, and it is possible because men may have in them the spirit of God. It is not a weak sentimentalism nor blindness to moral quality and moral desert. It is that

divine spirit in man which desires the good of all, which is not deterred by ill desert or ingratitude or even active evil. It finds its exemplification in Jesus' own life. And it shares the belief of Jesus that what force cannot accomplish, nor the mere giving of punishment and reward as men and nations earn these, that can be done by good will. Such love has led men to heights of devotion, it has quickened the passion for that lofty justice indicated above; this and no hard sense of duty has been the great motive power for service. It is this that heals the wounds of strife and bitterness, and without this the unity of home or community or nations is not possible. Jesus found this love in the heart of God, made it the supreme rule for the life of men, and staked his life upon his faith in its redemptive power for human ills. The moving appeal to such a life has always come for Christian thought from the life of Jesus. "He gave himself for us," the men of the early church said, and they felt the summons in turn to dedicate themselves.[9] So there has been released that tremendous passion of service and sacrifice which has been needed to overcome the deep currents of inertia, indifference, and selfishness that move in human life.

One thing more must be said before we leave this theme, and that refers not to the duty of social service but to the ideal of social oneness. In practice Christians have often been very individualistic; men have thought that the one concern was God and the single soul. Such an emphasis was needed at times, as, for example, at the Protestant Reformation when there was great danger that the life of religion as free and in direct relation to God would be lost in the dominance of the institution. But individualism by itself does not represent Christianity. The Christian movement began as a fellowship, and into that word, *koinonia*, a very rich meaning was packed. The fellow-

ship was not national, not racial, not at first institutional, but it bound men together through the common life of deep conviction, of ardent hope, of rich experience. And there has been the constant recognition that the highest life of the individual was possible only through fellowship.

The social emphasis, however, goes farther. Modern Christianity especially stresses increasingly the wider reaches of fellowship. We are bound together in community, in nation, and more and more in a common, world-wide humanity. In this common life lie our most threatening perils; through it must be achieved our highest goods. And so there has been an increasing stress upon the idea of the kingdom of God as the ideal of a rule of the spirit of God which shall some time control and fulfill the life of our race in all its reaches of individual and social expression.

III—A Man and His World

The Christian way is concerned with a third relation, which we may call the man and his world. A man, of course, lives in many different worlds. For the religious man the supreme world of his life is God—God the home of all values, the source of all life, the meaning and the power that is back of all else. A second world is that made up for man by his fellows. His own inner life forms a third world. A fourth is formed by that visible universe in which man lives, the world of things, the world which he masters in science, which he uses for his own support and pleasure, in which he does his work. Religion has often tended to neglect this last world for the supposed interests of the spirit, but a religion that is interested in man must be concerned with the world whose tasks and pleasures engross so large a proportion of his

time, and a religion of vision will realize that the visible may be alike the seat of the invisible and its instrument.

Here, too, we must consider the Christian conviction before we ask about the Christian ideal. The conception of the world determines our attitude toward it. Thus we have the common materialistic attitude: this world of things is the real world and the only real world; it is in this, therefore, that I must find the goods of life and my satisfactions. The great question of materialism therefore, is, What can I get out of it? At the opposite extreme is the idea of the evil world in its various forms. It may be the dualism which puts matter against spirit, it may be the thought that the world that was good has come under the rule of Satan. Such a world is to be disregarded, or shunned, or fled. The question then is, How can I escape the world?

As between these two the early church leaned to the latter. It was strongly influenced by Jewish apocalypticism. It expected the near end of the present age. This, however, was not asceticism, not fear of the world, though the later church came under influences which did bring in asceticism and world flight. It must be added, too, that there was lacking in the early church, a background for the appreciation of the positive values of the world, material, political, economic, social. That has come much more of recent years.

Jesus himself was equally removed from asceticism and worldliness. World fear and world flight certainly did not characterize his attitude. So frank and unaffected was his enjoyment of social intercourse and material goods that his enemies contrasted him with the ascetic John the Baptist and called him glutton and winebibber. The world was for him God's world. He saw God in its order. He bade men have no fear, just because this was God's world and

God was good. But he did find a serious danger in the wrong way in which men appraised this material world, and he warned men most seriously. Covetousness and fear alike came from the excessive value which men put on mere things, on goods. Pride, selfishness, hardness of spirit toward others, indifference to God and the higher goods, all were perils of wealth against which he spoke in plainest manner. A more constructive note was that in which he spoke of life as a trust, and of the responsibility for use that rested upon men in relation to all that had been given to them.[10] It may have been that Jesus himself thought that the new age, so near at hand, would bring totally different conditions, it may have been the fact that the actual social order with which he was faced was pagan in spirit and control, it may have been that he was so deeply concerned with the ultimate questions of inner spirit and attitude from which he expected all else to flow as needed; in any case Jesus did not concern himself directly with matters of social and institutional life.[11]

Modern Christian thought deals with different conditions and must apply Christian principles in the light of nineteen centuries of history and study. For it also this is the world of God's creation and of God's rule, but it looks to no kingdom that is to come by cataclysmic action. Further, it sees in the order of nature a summons to know this world through science and to master it by its tools. Finally, it realizes that the world of things is an indispensable foundation upon which to build the highest structure of human welfare. Its position, then, may be summed up something like this. The world is God's world; let us study its order and find out more about God. The world is a good world; let us use simply and thankfully the gifts which it brings as coming from God's hand. The world may easily become an evil world, if its lesser goods shut out

the higher, if we fail to master it, or if we fail to see it always as an instrument to higher ends. Finally, the world is the scene of a great purpose which God is carrying out. Creation is not finished. God is making a world, a new world in which shall dwell a new humanity: and the highest meaning of life is found by those who look upon life as the great opportunity of working with God toward this end.

IV—A Man and His Self

In setting forth the Christian conception of the way of life, there remains a final relation, that of a man to himself. Religion, it has been said, is man's effort to make himself at home in the universe. Broadly speaking, this effort concerns itself with two worlds. There is the macrocosm, the great world without him, and the microcosm, the inner world of his own self. We have been considering the questions that relate to the former world; we turn now to the latter.

There are not a few people today who feel that religion's only answer to the question of a man's obligation to himself is negative. Deny thyself. Renounce. *Entbehren sollst du, sollst entbehren.* Christianity seems to them to be a quixotic summons to disregard onself wholly in the love of others and in sacrifice for them. Or else it appears an unnatural and impossible asceticism, running counter to the fundamental impulses of our nature, looking upon every such impulse as sinful and bidding us repress.

Undoubtedly such ideas of negation and repression have played a large role in Christian history, but they do not represent Christian thought and have never been in control. Jesus was no ascetic either in teaching or practice. He did suggest that a man might face alternatives and sell

the lesser that he might have the higher, the treasure in the field, the pearl of great price. But it was life in which he was interested. He understood the kingdom of God in terms of life and uses the two words interchangeably.[12] The fourth gospel interprets him rightly: "I came that they may have life, and may have it abundantly."[13] He was concerned that men should "enter into life." If he warned men against selfishness, it was because he knew that it was the way of death. He did not say, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor, and hate thyself," but "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." Self-regard is a Christian duty.

The fundamental principle of Christianity here is plain, and it is the same as when we consider duties to others. It is the sacredness of human personality as that which is like God and belongs to God, which must always be end and never mere tool or object of possession. Self-abasement here is not humility. Contempt of self has no place before a God who says to us as to the prophet: "Son of man, stand upon thy feet." Not the least sin against God is where a man sins against himself and takes what was meant for high purpose and tramples it under foot through sloth or lust or folly or lack of high desire. The law of reverence for human personality applies first to a man's self.

And yet there is a clear distinction at this point between Christianity and the current cult of self assertion. With that cult we are all familiar. It is not so much set forth in formal treatise as it is reflected in current literature and assumed in current practice. It is the extreme of individualism: I and my rights and interests and desires come first, and no obligation of traditional standards or social tie may deter me. Its demand is for unhampered self-expression; my natural impulses and desires are right and good, and I will follow them after my pleasure, for I want

to be myself and to live my own life and above all to have life.

With the central affirmation here Christianity is agreed. It is not merely man's privilege to have fulness of life, it is his duty. And whatever some Christian theologies have said, present day Christian thought does not conceive of the fundamental human impulses as evil. But Christianity faces two problems here which this modern cult of self-expression, with its individualism and its naturalism, does not consider. It begins with this word self. To the question, Have I not a right to be myself and to live my own life? it answers, That is your duty as well as your right. But what is your self? As a matter of fact there is more than one self, and no one of these is as yet your real self. Ibsen led in a necessary protest against a tyranny of artificial and social restraint, but this modern cult is involved in errors which not merely religion, but modern psychology at the hand of a student like John Dewey, might easily correct. Our human nature is a rather complex affair. Here are impulses suggested by such words as fear and hate and fight; but there are pity and sympathy too. When men speak of human nature and its rights, why should it be the lower nature that they have in mind? Your nature is not a simple matter, Christianity says; it is complex and often in conflict. You must choose, you must master and learn to rule, you must unify and integrate if you are to be your self. And your self is something that lies before you. You come into the world with the materials for self-making but not with the self. Self is an achievement. The way to that achievement is not drifting, not following the line of least resistance with the most urgent impulse; it involves purpose carefully determined, repeated choice, the formation of habit, the enlistment of all possible aid. Human nature is here not simply

to be expressed but to be changed. Along that line lies not simply our hope for individual life at its best, but for the overcoming of war and every other curse and for the realization of a new humanity which we call the kingdom of God.

Here is suggested then the first answer that Christianity gives as to a man's duty to himself. The fault of man is not too great love of self but too little; he needs higher ambitions for himself, a nobler goal, larger aspiration, greater decision. So Jesus commends the dissatisfied, those that hunger and thirst after righteousness, the men of decision who will not look back when the hand is on the plow, who strive to enter in, the men who will accept no lesser good but insist upon the great treasure. The men who say most about the supreme right of being themselves and expressing themselves are most often those who are betraying their largest and truest self. To follow the lower self or the evil self means self-destruction and not self-realization, it means slavery and not freedom.

The other problem which Christianity faces here is of equal importance: it is the question of the individual and the social, of my relation to my self and to the larger world of not self, and how these are to be adjusted. The self-expression cult sees but one side, representing a not unnatural rebound from an earlier extreme; but in its eagerness to save its life, it loses it. Christianity does not say, you must love your neighbor instead of your self; nor yet simply you must love your neighbor as well as your self. It declares that a man must love his neighbor in order to love himself. To put it more directly and adequately: a man's own life can be achieved only through right relations with the larger world to which he belongs, to God and fellow man and the world of work.

The sacredness of the individual life is not denied here,

nor the fact of that "salt, unplumbed, estranging sea" which divides the microcosmos of one self from that of another. There is truth in what Professor Whitehead has recently said, that religion is what a man does with his solitariness.[14] And Christianity grants the need of self-culture which humanism has stressed. It has, indeed, an emphatic word here. It bids a man go into his closet and pray to his Father in secret. It calls him to quiet, to meditation, and individual decision. But it has no saving help for men who live simply within themselves and for themselves. It summons men to give if they would have, it warns them that saving is losing.[15] It is the great paradox which Jesus reiterated, but it was for him more than a teaching; it was his life.

The clash of man with man, of class with class, of nation with nation, of the individual and the social, of the self and the whole, this makes the tragic problem of our day. Christianity offers here its reconciling word as it speaks of solidarity, of mutual understanding and love, of the common good in which alone the *part* can achieve its own good. Here we apply it simply to the individual. The underlying principle is not uncertain, however difficult the application may often be. Life is never a thing apart and by itself, something that one man may grasp and hold. There is no "life" but only living. And living is always in relations, relations that grow more intimate, more complex, more far-reaching as we mount in the scale. The real goods of life are ours only in common—bread that is ours only as we learn to work together, justice and peace that we individually share only as we jointly conspire to achieve them, love that enriches us only as we freely give, self-mastery and freedom and clear conscience and strength of character that are ours only when we have found the highest and surrendered ourselves to it.[16]

So Christianity speaks its word to those who ask about a man's life with himself. It does not say, follow each individual impulse and desire, and thus be yourself. It does not say, leave the world and repress yourself and seek anxiously to save yourself. It bids a man confidently, courageously, joyously, but not selfishly, give himself to life as he finds it at its best. Let him drop anxious concern about himself, whether it be the search for pleasure or the saving of his soul. Let him, when he finds God, give himself in trust and devotion. Let him give himself to his fellow men in reverence and good will, in the ties of family and friendship and the wider circles beyond these. Let him play his part in the world of things, taking its pleasure simply, doing its work loyally, living as master and not slave. And when he has fulfilled these great relations, he will find that he has been true to himself and has gained the wealth of life.

Chapter IV

THE CHRISTIAN HOPE

Immanuel Kant once suggested that all the searchings of man could be summed up in three questions: What can I know? What must I do? What may I hope for? It is in the field of religion that these questions come to crucial expression. The answer to the first as given by Christianity we have considered under the head, "The Christian Conviction," and that of the second in the discussion of "The Christian Way." This chapter on "The Christian Hope" deals with the third.

The twofold root of religion is on the one hand man's feeling of need, on the other the sense of some higher power upon which he is dependent. More and more clearly we have come to see that religion is a practical concern of man. It roots in man's search for completeness of life, and his conviction that there is help available for its achievement. Consciously or unconsciously, men are forever asking of religion: What does it offer? What will it do for me? The question may be put in selfish and materialistic fashion; men may think of success in the chase or in victory over the enemy. Or it may come from one whose soul cries out for the living God and whose vision takes in all humanity. But the question remains, and every religion must give account of itself in relation to it.

In interpreting Christianity at this point, the word hope is used in the largest sense. It is not simply the future life that is here considered, but the whole aspect of religion

as help. Religion is not simply a conviction concerning the Eternal, or a way of life that follows from the vision of the Eternal; it is a promise of help from the Eternal, the thought of a God who touches our human life as a saving power. It is, in fact, the idea of salvation with which we are dealing. The term is an old-fashioned one but the interest is as keen today as it ever was. That is seen when we look at some of the popular religious movements of the day. Take such widely diverse groups as the followers of Christian Science and "New Thought" on the one hand and those of the different millennialistic movements on the other; their common attraction is their doctrine of salvation, the hope that they hold out to men.

Yet at no point is the interpretation of Christianity more difficult than here. The main spheres in which this hope moves are easily pointed out. They touch three matters that are of universal human concern and that are age-old. Perhaps the most ancient form is the social hope, and it is of keenest interest for the present day. We see it in Israel in the thought of a coming day of Jehovah, a day of judgment upon all evil and of deliverance for God's people, often conceived as the reign of a messianic king. The kingdom of God (perhaps better translated, the rule of God) is the term for this hope in the teaching of John the Baptist and of Jesus. In one form or another it has remained in Christian thought ever since; for the evil of this world is a contradiction of the faith in a good and mighty God and some time there must be a new order of life. In its second form, hope looks to the future and deals with life after death. "If a man die, shall he live again?" The third form is more individual and intimate. It deals with man's personal desire for the achievement of life, and that here and now. It is the answer to man's longing for deliverance from evil and for the attainment

of his highest good. Salvation then deals with the social hope, the individual hope, and the future hope.

In the form of the answer given to these questions, however, and in the place of emphasis, the Christian church has shown wide diversity. Often the emphasis has been individual and otherworldly. The social hope has been forgotten. The kingdom of God has been identified with the institution of the church, or with an inner and individual experience. Men gave up this world; salvation meant the life of bliss after death. When it came to the way in which men were saved, the differences were equally great. Mystical and emotional experiences, magic-working sacramentarianism, a sovereign God working by irresistible grace and arbitrarily choosing the subjects of his saving help without any determining moral consideration, these ideas have been widespread and have by no means passed away. And yet through all this the dominant ideas of the New Testament have not been lost: the hope of a better world in which love and righteousness and peace should rule; the belief in a deliverance from sin and weakness and in the gift of a new life from God and with God; the sure conviction of a life with God after death.

At the same time, looking at progressive Christian thought today, certain lines of advance are clearly discernible. At no point are the conceptions strictly new, but history has taught us something, as have also psychology, and the more difficult social situations of the new day; and we have learned to turn aside from certain byways, and we see more clearly certain main ways that we must follow. Let me note some of these advances. (1) We think of salvation in terms of this world, and not simply of the next, as social in scope and not simply individual, as dealing with the whole of life and not with a fraction. Our hope is nothing less than that of a new world. (2)

Our emphasis is positive rather than negative. It is the gift of life with which we are concerned. Sin is real, evil is real, but the way of overcoming is by the positive gift of life; and salvation is nothing less than life at its largest and richest. (3) Salvation must be personal and ethical. It must take place in human experience and relate itself to man's understanding and will. No sacramentarian substance with magical power, no judicial arrangement about cancelling debts or guilt, can serve here. A moral-spiritual result can only come from a moral-spiritual process. (4) And yet it is salvation and not simply human effort. The religious is here as well as the ethical, the saving help of God as well as the response of man. We share the historic Christian faith in the living God who has a great purpose of good for humanity, who gives himself to men in the carrying out of this end, and who has revealed alike himself and his purpose and his way of help in Jesus.

I—The Individual Hope

In discussing the threefold hope indicated above, we turn first to the individual hope. We deal here with the most fundamental urge of our human nature, the demand for life itself. It may take primitive form in hunger, or the fight for existence when threatened by foes of any kind, or it may be the eager desire of one who hungers and thirsts after righteousness; but in the latter case it is still life.

> 'Tis life, whereof our nerves are scant,
> O life, not death, for which we pant;
> More life, and fuller, that I want.[1]

Christianity is no religion of negation, it offers no Nirvana. It meets this will to live, and calls it forth. The word life is perhaps the best expression of what it seeks to bring. It

is not simply the escape from evil or the gaining of heaven, nor merely deliverance from sin. Jesus speaks of men "entering into life;" the evil for which no sum of treasure can compensate is losing one's life (not losing one's soul, as the King James version has it).[2] Particularly suggestive is the use of the word life in the fourth gospel, which offers one of the great interpretations of Christianity.

Into this word life Christianity puts its own content. It is not mere existence, and not a matter of duration. It is quality that is determinative here, life at its fullest and highest. Necessarily it involves deliverance, the overcoming of sin that separates man from God, the conquest of forces that oppose, and not least of the hampering forces within. It denotes the fullest achievement of his possible self, and so includes the truth for which humanism stands; that "we may grow up in all things," is one of Paul's great phrases.[3] It is through and through ethical: no salvation without character. "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven (the alternative phrase for Jesus is "enter into life"), but he that doeth the will of my Father."[4] And Paul insists that every other gift is in vain if the spirit of love be lacking. But the religious is here with the ethical, and is primary, for the life is from God and its highest expression is fellowship with God.

Christianity, then, is the religion of redemption which offers this fullness of life to men. There is a certain extraordinary optimism here which might well be challenged. It lies in the lofty conception of that life which it declares is available to men: its inner unity, its victory over evil, its communion with God, its rich fellowship with men, its privilege of truth and beauty, its share in creative activity, its inner strength and peace. But even more does it appear in the fact that it offers this life to all men, and deems all

men capable of sharing it. Jesus brought his message to all alike: devout observers of the law, "sinners" and outcast, renegade tax-gatherers, the woman of the street, Romans, Samaritans. Paul was equally inclusive as he touched the highest and the lowest strata of that heterogeneous Roman world. And this confidence has not abated in Christian missions.

Back of this Christian idea of salvation, with its extraordinary optimism, there lie two concepts which help to explain it, that of God and that of man. If there is a distinctive emphasis in the Christian thought of God it appears here in the conception of God as redemptive love. God is not simply the Holy Being who, in moral transcendence as in power, towers inaccessible above us, giving us his commands, awaiting our obedience, condemning or approving our action. God is the out-going Spirit of Love, he is the redemptive good will that comes into our human life to help and to save. He is the Spirit constantly giving of its own life to men. He is a morally creative, or recreative, power, lifting men to new heights as they open their lives to him. He is the father who, instead of waiting at home to pass judgment upon his recreant son, goes out to meet him on the way. He is the God in whose heaven there is "more joy over one sinner that repenteth than over ninety and nine just persons that need no repentance."[5] The supreme gift of this God is himself; he invites men to the fellowship of sons, and in this fellowship gives them the power of a new life.

The Christian conception of man is not so easily stated, and the reason is that man is not one thing but many things. Christian thinkers have often been guilty of oversimplification here; they have taken one side of man, and made their doctrine out of that alone. Here is the ancient doctrine of total depravity. The older theologians looked

at the dark fact of sin; they saw that evil was not only outside, seducing man, but was within as an impulse of his own nature. And they thought to magnify the mercy of God by denying all goodness to man. But if human nature is utterly evil, then man has no freedom of choice, no power to respond, no capacity for God and good. So salvation tended to become something less than personal and ethical; it depended purely upon something that God did to men. Sometimes it was more mechanical—the idea of irresistible grace as in Calvinism. Again it was more magical—God transforming human nature by means of sacraments.

The modernist may oversimplify in another direction. Man is a child of God, he declares, and that is the whole doctrine. But that is not the doctrine from the Christian point of view. The teaching of Jesus is very clear here. To be children of God is not a matter of native endowment, but of moral character. It lies at the end of the road, not at the beginning. God is the Father of all men, for fatherhood is a matter of character, the character of holy love, and God's love goes out to all. But in the real and full sense, not all men are his children; for that, too, is a matter of character, and it is ours only as we share in his spirit of love. It is not simply a matter of human imperfection with which we deal here, but the fact of sin. It is not simply that man has his long road to travel before he attains; he may turn off from the road. And sin is not the momentary mistake; it may become the habit of life, a perversion of spirit, a fixed and wrong character. Just because man is so much higher than the beast, it is possible for him to sink lower.

We can state briefly then the Christian idea of man as it bears upon this theme. Man is made in the image of God; popularly we mean this when we insist that all men

are children of God. That high character he has not, indeed, achieved, but this is what he is made for, this is his true nature. With his gifts of reason, of moral apprehension, of free choice, of a possible knowledge of God, he belongs in the realm of personal being with God, and his goal is in God. But by the same fact he may choose another way than this, the way of sin, and so choosing he may make this his nature. For man is a being in the making; he is not yet, but always is to be. And sin makes plain that he needs not simply making, but remaking.[6]

On this background of the thought of God and man, we can see better the Christian optimism as regards salvation and the Christian idea of its nature. Man is made for God, not some men but all men. Man is made for the highest life—truth, love, beauty, goodness; in the achievement of these lies the meaning of his life. But man is not left alone; God is here, and God is this life—love and truth and goodness and beauty; and God is self-giving, redeeming love. He is not only the moral demand; he is the living gift. And in the end, if man will turn to him, nothing can withstand his truth and his love, not man's weakness, nor his ignorance, nor even his sin.

And what Christianity means by salvation becomes now more clear. The good that it offers is life. Life means coming into right relations with one's self, one's world, and God. Being lost means being out of right relations—out of right relation with God by lack of trust and loyalty, out of right relation with men through selfishness and distrust, out of right relation with one's world through ignorance and fear. And this in turn involves in our own life division, weakness, and defeat. Salvation means getting into right relations—with God and man, with our world and ourselves. Such right relations are at once the means to the higher life and the goal of that life itself.

Fundamental is the right relation to God. For Christian thought this is decisive for everything. For God is not a being apart, one individual to be put beside others, one good among many. All good has its being in him, all help is from him. Loyalty to God, therefore, means loyalty toward all good and truth and right. In principle a man settles every question of right spirit and attitude and conduct when he settles the matter of his relation to God. But, more than that, no matter by what channel it comes, all help is from God, for all truth and love and strength are from him. For Christianity then there is no greater question than this: How shall men be brought into right relation with God?

Two words are central here for Christian thought, grace and faith. They are not new words, or new ideas, though Christianity has given them a distinctive content. Grace means the forgiving mercy of God by which he receives men despite their evil, by which he overcomes the separation that sin has made, and creates the great fellowship. Further, it means the constant gift of life and help as thus freely given. Religion, personal religion, is thus first of all a deed of God; it is his work and his gift. God is creative, redemptive good will. He it is that creates the fellowship which is man's highest life, and he it is that in and through that fellowship is constantly giving truth and love and life and strength to men.

But if we think of religion thus in terms of fellowship, then it must be free, it must be ethical; and that must be true of this vital aspect of religion which we call salvation. It cannot be simply something done to man or for man; it is rather something which happens between God and man. There must be the right response of man and the right attitude, and that is expressed best in a single word, faith. The word has often been misused, or given to nar-

row a meaning. Faith means trust, not simply belief. Its object is a person, not a proposition. It is the answer which man makes to the good will in which God offers himself. It is confidence in God rather than belief about him. But it is more. There is a definite element of will involved. It is more than a feeling, it is an obedience. It is loyalty as well as confidence. It is the kind of trust which issues in surrender. It is the answer of heart and mind and will, the only answer with which a man can rightly meet such a God. Without such a response even the good will of God is helpless. Only through such an answer is a personal, a moral fellowship possible. That is the meaning of man's being saved "by grace through faith." The saving is from God, the God of grace, but faith is this open door of mind and heart and will through which God comes in.

From the first Christian thought has related this saving of man very closely with the thought of the person of Jesus and his death. Many of the forms which this doctrine has taken in the history of Christian thought are quite generally discarded today. They rested upon a wrong conception of the character of God and of the relation of God and man. They thought of the death of Jesus as being the payment of a debt demanded because of the offense against God in man's sin, or as a punishment that had to be endured somehow and by someone before it was possible for God to forgive.

We must go back of all this to understand the early Christian attitude. Overwhelmed at first by the death of their Master, the disciples were convinced by the appearance of Jesus to them that he lived, that God was with him, that he was in very truth the one sent of God as they had supposed. That conviction was confirmed by the experience of the new life that came to them. It may be at

first that they thought of this triumph of Jesus as taking place despite his death.[7] But more and more they came to see a meaning in that death. It was not simply Jesus' devotion to a task which he saw as the will of God,[8] nor the manifestation of his love and loyalty. They saw in it a purpose of God, not a tragedy that was endured but a deed that was wrought. They felt that somehow God was in it, that God was doing something for men. It is probable that a remembered word of Jesus from the last hours entered in here, as well as earlier sayings of his.[9] The idea of vicarious suffering was not, of course, new to them and the great suffering servant passage from Isaiah was of evident influence here.[10] The conclusion was inevitable for them. Paul voiced the common conviction, "He died for all"; "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself."[11] The cross became to them at once a deed of God's love and a judgment upon human sin. An interpreter like John emphasized more the person and spirit of Jesus, with Paul it was more his death; together they represent well this Christian conviction that in the life and death of Jesus there was a supreme revelation of God's mercy and righteousness and the supreme deed of God by which he entered into human history. Thus understood the cross became for them a symbol and a summary of their message of the redeeming love of God seeking to overcome sin and lead men into fellowship with himself.

The New Testament offers no theory of the atonement in any strict sense. The older theories have lost their place with modern thinking men. But there remains that first conviction that here is a revelation of God, a deed of God in which his Spirit of love and righteousness in and through his Servant comes with its appeal and help to men. The present day approach to this question, however, is different. It is more psychological and ethical. It still

realizes that the supreme question of religion is how man shall be brought into fellowship with God, the God who is love and truth and righteousness. The question of forgiveness as mere remission of penalty does not concern it. Its problem lies in man himself. What are the forces that shall reveal to him his own sin and need? What shall bring to him the vision of the meaning of his world and of life; what shall kindle desire, and strengthen faith, and supply the new motive? Here is the real problem of forgiveness, the establishment of a right relation between a man and his world, and that means for religion between a man and God. And here Christian men find the great contribution of Jesus, though they no longer stress his death in isolation but think of the whole deed which includes spirit and life and word, and culminates in his death as its supreme expression.

Other questions rise for consideration here and must have at least passing attention. The first concerns the idea of forgiveness. Does it not imperil the ethical? Will it not encourage men to think that they can do as they please and find a good-natured God to make it all right at the end? And is anything ever made right until the man himself is made right? Such queries arise from a misunderstanding of the Christian position, a misunderstanding which unfortunately is not lacking sometimes in the church itself. Forgiveness is not a mere remission of penalty by God, nor its easy acceptance by man. In the Christian sense it is the reëstablishment of a broken relation. It demands from man nothing less than the surrender of his life to this forgiving spirit of God; divine forgiveness can come only as man accepts this new spirit as the rule of his life.[12]

On the divine side forgiveness is an expression of moral hope and a method of moral regeneration. It is God tak-

ing men into fellowship in order that by that fellowship he may give them the power of a new life. It was Seneca who said long ago, in answer to a query of his friends as to why he dined with his slaves: "I dine with some of them because they art worthy, with others that they may become worthy." Jesus believed in the creative moral power of the spirit of mercy and good will; we are slowly coming to see the need of this method in human relations, especially in the interclass and international strife of our time.

Another questioner would challenge the whole idea of divine help. Our only hope, we are told, is in ourselves; the salvation of the race rests upon man's intelligence, upon his own initiative and action, and this must take the place of the old passive resignation. And on the religious side particularly, our emphasis must be upon the ethical. The question at issue, however, is not that of religious *or* ethical, divine *or* human; it is whether the two can go together. Christianity insists that they do. The question here is not that of the existence of a personal God, but the idea of religion as a relationship in which God means not simply a cosmic order and a moral ideal, but a saving help in life. Is it a possible conception? Is it a worthy ideal?

The fault of the criticism is that it is misdirected, that it rests upon a conception of God which is not here involved, the idea of God as arbitrary and dominating power. The idea of passivity, of submission, of mere resignation, is not implied. A religion of personal and ethical fellowship demands, on the contrary, not only trust but active response. God gives himself to men as indwelling Spirit. That Spirit is not some magical substance or impersonal force; it is love, truth, righteousness. It is the spirit of Jesus. And no man can have that Spirit as his spirit unless consciously and actively he lives out

that spirit.[13] And why should it be impossible for a personal and indwelling God to communicate this higher life of his to men if, indeed, in William James' phrase, our life is "continuous with a wider self through which saving experiences come"? If God gives us physical being, why not spiritual? The most familiar experience of our human life is the way in which that life is enriched by what it receives from others. The individual man as individual is nothing; the supreme goods of life come from others.

One of the points, however, where Christian leaders need to give more thought, is the practical question as to the means by which this higher life from God comes to man, and as to the attitude and action on our part which conditions this. These are called in traditional phrase "means of grace," and there are traditional answers to this question which vary somewhat in different communions. What is needed is a fresh study of concrete religious experience that shall be catholic in its scope and shall distinguish between the experience and its interpretation. But the outline of this answer at least can be fairly well determined. The door through which God enters must be opened by man from within. God's path into human life is the path which man must tread from the other end. It will be for us, as for our fathers, a path of worship, with its humility, its reverence, its aspiration, its devotion. It will be the path of obedience, of loyalty to truth and right. It will be the path of faith, or trust, the confidence which ventures out upon the goodness of God. It will be the path of love, finding the God of good will in unselfish love and service of our fellows and in the fellowships of life, the supreme fellowship being the fellowship of common faith, "the beloved community," in Royce's phrase, or, in our phrase, the church.[14]

II—The Social Hope

From the beginning the individual and social aspects of the idea of salvation existed side by side in Christianity. Men were conscious of a new life that had come to them, a fellowship with God, a new fellowship with one another, a new spirit within them. It was a salvation already possessed. The fourth gospel is especially devoted to this side of the Christian hope, the life from God for the individual that is available to men here and now. Yet the social hope is the background of it all. When Paul writes, "Now is salvation nearer to us than when we first believed,"[15] he is referring to the coming of the new age. They believed in a coming kingdom of God, not merely the saving of a few men who should go to heaven, but the making of a new world. This hope rested back upon the teachings of the prophets, but its form was directly influenced by those Jewish apocalyptic writings which in the end influenced the Christian church more than they did Judaism. An old age was passing, the new age was coming. It would be brought in by judgment upon all that was evil. Jesus was to return and thus the new rule of God was to be established.

This kingdom hope, the hope of a new world, has had a varied history in the Christian church. The expectation of the immediate return of Jesus was not fulfilled. The phrase, kingdom of God, so prominent in the gospels, very largely lost its place. It was identified with the church, especially in Roman Catholicism, or with the rule of God in the individual believer, this especially in Protestantism. At the same time the apocalyptic idea maintained itself to some extent, especially in the form of chiliasm, or premillennialism. After the first few centuries this was held by smaller groups, but in the last decades especially it has

had a considerable revival, and in this country is quite largely associated with fundamentalism, though not necessarily so. Its followers hold that the visible return of Jesus is imminent, and that after a judgment upon his enemies he will establish a visible kingdom upon the earth and rule here for a thousand years, after which there will follow a general judgment upon all the race, living and dead. It should be added that this premillennial conception has never found a place in any of the great creeds of the church and has been specifically or implicitly disavowed in some cases.

A new appreciation of the social meaning of Christianity and of the idea of the kingdom of God is one of the outstanding marks of present day Christian thought. Several influences have conspired to this end. First, historical study has helped us to see the social-ethical emphasis of the prophets and Jesus. How far the apocalypticism of the gospels is due to Jesus and how much to his reporters we cannot tell. But of his essential message at this point there is little doubt: evil is to be overthrown; the rule of God is to come and to obtain in all the world; that rule is to be, not national, not external, but a new life, the spirit of the Father in the hearts of the children.[16] Second, there is a truer conception of religion as ethical and vital. Not in the institutions or forms of creedal agreements is the heart of religion to be found, but in a new spirit, and this spirit must inform the whole life of man, individual and social. Third, there has come a truer appreciation of the social nature of personality, of religion, and of our human life as such. We realize that there is no individual life independent of the group. The individual achieves his highest life in fellowship and is dependent upon this. There is a life that we live apart, each man for himself; but there is a life that we live together and in that com-

mon life the highest human achievement is to be found. Home, church, friendship, community, nation, these with all the other associations for work and play, for science and art, form the large part of human life. It is this life that must be redeemed if humanity is to be saved. It is this life that must have a new spirit. A religion that does not claim all of life in the end will keep none of it. Monotheism must assert its full claim.

But mainly it has been the presence of social need which has driven Christian leaders to searchings of heart and has led them to new social vision. While we sought to bring light and peace to the individual soul, or pointed them to a hereafter, we saw a lusty paganism growing in our midst. We preached peace to the individual while nations moved in the way of war. We asserted Christian ideals for the individual soul, while the nations were governed in their policies by distinctly pagan conceptions—the rule of selfishness, the reliance upon force, the use of deceit under the name of diplomacy. We ministered with individual charity to the poor and the broken in body and spirit, while the new industry made slaves of childhood, recked nothing of accident, bought labor at lowest price like any commodity without regard to a living wage, and treated men as but parts of a big machine. We had a period of optimism when men told us that evolution was a sort of magic word that spelled inevitable progress, when science promised to banish all darkness, and invention and engineering were to do away with all poverty, and an individual and thrifty piety was our sole need.

We had a rude awakening from all that. We saw that men could rule the world, conquer sea and sky and land with all their forces, and yet not rule their own spirit. We learned that industrial engineering was one thing and social engineering was another; and we had not mastered

the latter, had not even turned seriously to its tasks. The whole movement of a century, of four centuries, had been in the direction of bringing men more closely together, of massing them in industry, of breaking down the old barriers that separated peoples, eliminating time and distance and making the world one neighborhood. One neighborhood, but a neighborhood in which we had not learned how to be neighbors. We had not learned either how to rule ourselves, or how to live together as nation and nation, as class and class, as race and race. The World War was only the latest, albeit the most terrible, in our series of lessons. But it showed us in dramatic fashion how "progress" had furnished us the tools of power without teaching us how to use them, and they had become in our hands the instruments of our own destruction.

What I have recited is, of course, the common experience in which Jews and Christians have shared, with an awakening that has come to many outside of any church who realize with us now that our fundamental problem is ethical, and that religion must come to the help. It was a great Jewish merchant in an eastern city, who brought together the religious leaders of Christian and Jewish faith of his city and said in substance, facing the common need, "For God's sake, let us get together, for it is only religion that can save us."

The problem at this point is not simply that of social ethics, to which some reference was made in the study of "The Christian Way." We are dealing here with the idea of social salvation, with the question of the help that we may look for in the name of religion. And that, of course, is our pressing need today. We know pretty well the way that we should take; what we lack is right desire and inspiration and power. It is the transforming power of a new spirit that we need. At this point it is not so much a

record of definite declaration or achievement that can be reported, as a suggestion of the direction of movement as this appears to one beholder.

First, let me suggest that Christian men believe more strongly than ever in a coming kingdom of God. We realize the great place which the associated life of man plays in industry and the state and other relations, and that this life must be redeemed. It must have not only new ideals but a new spirit; it must know a new master and follow with a new purpose. To this end there must be new men, men with a new spirit and life. Yet it is not simply by winning men individually that the new world will come. There is a life that we live together, in the home, the community, in industry, in the nation. That life needs new ideals and we must seek them together. That life has its common evils, and we must see them and repent of them. What nation is there today that does not need to get a new sense of God, a new vision of its true life, and to repent of its hatreds and prejudices, its selfishness and oppressions? We need a social salvation for our social life.

As with the individual, this new life must be at once the gift of God and the deed of man, at the same time ethical and religious. We believe that the new spirit is God's spirit, the God in whom all love and truth and righteousness have their being, and that we see the nature of this spirit which is to redeem and rule men in the spirit of Jesus. But such a gift can come only as it is received by mind and heart and will. Such a rule is an inner rule and can come only by inner appropriation. Man must apprehend the ideal of God, he must open his heart to this spirit from God, and in patient toil and experiment he must learn how to express this spirit in the complex relations of life. That is why no revolution can accomplish the goal, whether it be Marxian or premillennial. The

apocalyptic schemes, whether social or religious, break down at this point. Great epochs there will be, periods when the elements that have gathered in the seemingly quiet ages shall of a sudden precipitate. But this illustration from the physical realm is inadequate; we are dealing with the vital not the mechanical, and life comes by growth. Increasingly, however, discerning Christian leaders realize that with all our stress upon social ideals and duties, there is needed a deeper religious faith and life that shall furnish the dynamic for the new movement.

III—The Life to Come

Proportionately the hope of a future life does not bulk as largely in Christian thought as it once did. There are various reasons for this. In large measure it is probably due to the fact of a different attitude toward this life. The earlier Christian attitude toward this world was rather pessimistic. Men did not expect much from this life. This world was transitory and evil; it was ours to endure and to fix our gaze upon the world of bliss beyond. We have not merely made this a much better world to live in physically, but we have much higher hopes socially and religiously. The social hope is with us, and mind and hand are full of the social task. The task of bringing a kingdom of heaven upon earth does not leave us so much time to think of the kingdom of heaven beyond. A second influence, no doubt, is that of a subtle and permeating naturalism. Is there any life that is not joined to the physical? Is there a self or a soul that is more than this psycho-physical organism? Shall we who have come up out of the age-long evolution of the material expect for ourselves a preëminence above all other being? There is finally the failure of the church to restate its doctrine of the future life. The old doctrine was bound up with a biblical literalism that translated apoca-

lyptic picture into dogma and rested upon ideas of physical resurrection. A restatement here is urgently needed and the lack of it has kept out of our teaching of the people great truths that should serve for hope and warning.

Yet it would be wholly mistaken to suppose that this hope is losing its place in Christian thought. The arguments against such a hope strike at the roots not only of a belief in a personal God but of every spiritual interpretation of the universe. The hope itself roots too deeply in our fundamental Christian convictions to be so easily displaced. The Old Testament, it is true, shows us how a theistic faith, lofty and ethical, may persist a long time without the idea of personal immortality. Yet even among the Jews such a hope was bound to come; and its coming did not depend upon outside influences, though these may have been at work, but resulted inevitably as religion became more personal and inner and as the meaning of faith in such a God became more clear.

We are coming to see in the Christian church that the idea of the future life cannot be disproven by logical argument or scientific demonstration. We are moving here in the realm of ideals and values, and dealing with what is a part of a man's total interpretation of his world. We are inclined to agree that it cannot be proven in the same fashion either. Spiritualistic demonstrations have appealed to only a very few. Logical argument in the end comes to this, that this world is an utterly irrational, a meaningless world, unless there be in it a place for the values of life, for their bringing forth and their preserving, and these values are first of all spiritual and personal. When the long ages of development have at last brought forth their highest fruit in humanity, when the individual life has grown from weakness through struggle to something of noble character, we cannot think that the physical inci-

dent of death is to end it all, leave ashes and nothingness, and empty of all meaning the struggle of the ages.

But such a rational consideration cannot stand alone; it comes only as part of a larger faith. So the Christian idea of a future life is seen more and more to rest upon two fundamental ideas, its conception of God and of man. If we cannot believe in such a God then life loses its great meaning, whether here or hereafter. If we can thus believe, then all else is given to us. Then we can believe in a purpose of good for man and for the world. Then we can hold to that final conviction of religion, that values shall not perish from the earth. Then the supreme values of life will be of the nature of this God, personal and ethical. Then we can believe that the Father, who has made his children for himself, will keep them in life and death.[17] And inseparable from this is the conception of man. It is because man has been made for God, because he can enter into the fellowship of the Eternal, because thus he has value for God, that we believe that death will not separate him from God.

> Thou wilt not leave us in the dust:
> Thou madest man, he knows not why,
> He thinks he was not made to die;
> And thou hast made him—*thou art just.*[17]

And here attention should be called to the significance of the word life, especially the phrase eternal life, in Christian thought, notably as seen in the fourth gospel. The Christian faith is not so much a faith in future existence as it is a faith in eternal life, a life upon which men are to enter now, a life which rises superior to death. It is life as quality, not as duration, that is significant here. The ground for an enduring and vital faith in immortality will in the end be man's experience of the Eternal, the de-

gree to which he knows the life eternal in the midst of time.

All this has its influence upon our conception of the future life. The emphasis upon the external grows less and less, the ethical and personal are more and more determinative. We are less inclined to take in literal fashion the pictures of the seers of the past. If we retain the phrase, the resurrection of the body, it means for most of us the assertion that the life after death will be no futile existence of hopeless shades, but a full and rich life with that opportunity for self-expression and social relation which in this life is contingent upon a physical body. The term body is more symbol than attempt at description. We think of the future life more after the principle of continuity than with the thought of an abrupt change. We believe no less than our fathers did that the universe is one of moral order and so we believe in judgment, not as externally imposed but as an inner inevitability. But we cannot give to the incident of death the all-determining position that it once had. As regards the future life itself, we think less of that apocalyptic imagery which made heaven a combination of oriental court and temple worship; we think more in terms of the opportunity for self-realization in continued growth, the triumph of good and elimination of evil, peace but not inactivity, the renewal of the interrupted fellowships of earth, the society of the great and good of all time, above all a truer and fuller fellowship with God.

NOTES—PART ONE

Chapter I

[1]A. N. Whitehead, *Religion in the Making*, p. 36.

[2]*A Jewish View of Jesus*, p. 18.

[3]Abdullah Yusuf Ali, *An Outline of Christianity*, Vol. V, p. 242.

[4]For the figure of the Father and the family, see Matt. v. 45; vi. 9, xxiii. 8, 9; for the figure of the body, I Cor. xii. 12-31; for that of the temple, I Cor. iii. 9-17. As to the fellowship, note Acts ii. 42 (American Standard Revision; Margin).

[5]Note the suggestive discussion by C. A. Anderson Scott in *The Spirit* (ed. by B. H. Streeter), Ch. IV. Note Paul's emphasis on the supremacy of love (I Cor. xiii), his frequent exhortations to unity and peace and brotherhood, and his practical and serious concern to maintain fellowship with the rather suspicious Christian brotherhood at Jerusalem.

Chapter II.

[1]Pascal, *Pensées*.

[2]See Matt. vi. 7-15, 25-33; Luke xv.

[3]Luke xii. 4, 5; Mark xii. 24; Matt. xi. 25.

[4]Matt. vi. 15; v. 38-48; x. 38, 39. See the discussion in *The Foundations* (ed. by B. H. Streeter), pp. 214, 259.

[5]II Cor. v. 19; Rom. xv. 6; II Cor. IV. 6.

[6]Judg. xiv. 19; xv. 14, 15; I Sam. xix. 23, 24.

[7]Isa. xi. 2.

[8]Job xxxii. 8.

[9]Joel ii. 28, 29.

[10]Gal. v. 16, 22, 23.

[11]Rom. viii. 9, 10.

[12]Gal. v. 25.

[13]I Cor. xiii.

[14]Nathan Soederblom, *Gudstrons Uppkomst* (German trans., *Das Werden des Gottesglaubens*). This work, appearing first in 1914, prepared the way for the volume by Rudolf Otto, *Das Heilige*, which has appeared in some fourteen editions (English trans., *The Idea of the Holy*).

[15]Representative works by the three leading writers of this movement are *Der Roemerbrief*, by Karl Barth; *Die Mystik und das Wort*, by Emil Brunner; and *Die religioese Entscheidung*, by Friedrich Gogarten.

[16]*Religion in the Making*, pp. 67, 68.

Chapter III.

[1]Matt. vi. 24-34.

[2]Ibid. v. 23, 24, 43-48. The implication of the ideal is clear in the beatitudes (Matt. v. 3-9).

[3]W. Cosby Bell, *Sharing in Creation.*

[4]John v. 17.

[5]Paul Sabatier, *Life of St. Francis of Assisi*, pp. 187, 188.

[6]I John iv. 16, 20.

[7]I Cor. xiii.

[8]Isa. i. 17; Micah vi. 8.

[9]Titus ii. 14; I John iv. 11, 19; II Cor. v. 14, 15.

[10]For fuller discussion of this and other points in the teachings of Jesus, the writer would refer to his *The Teachings of Jesus*, the reference here being to Chs. XV. and XVI.

[11]The indirect bearing of Jesus' teaching and attitude is quite another matter. Was his death caused by his religious utterances, or was it because the representatives of the established order saw in him a great potential danger? See Samuel Dickey, *The Constructive Revolution of Jesus*, which is a study of some of his social attitudes.

[12]Matt. vii. 14, 21; Mark x. 17, 23, 30.

[13]John x. 10.

[14]*Religion in the Making*, p. 16.

[15]Mark viii. 35, 36.

[16]In a suggestive and original study, *Holism and Evolution*, General Jan C. Smuts offers what is in effect a philosophical basis for this ethic. The essential movement of the universe, though not without opposition and conflict, is toward ever-larger unities, or wholes. The higher levels of life are reached only as the disunity and separateness of the lower level is transcended in a larger whole.

Chapter IV.

[1]Tennyson, *The Two Voices.*

[2]Matt. xviii. 8, 9; xix; xvii; Mark viii. 36.

[3]Eph. iv. 15.

[4]Matt. vii. 15-27.

[5]Luke xv.

[6]See William E. Hocking, *Human Nature and Its Remaking.*

[7]Acts ii. 24; iii. 15.

[8]Mark iv. 36.

[9]Mark xiv. 24; viii. 31-35; x. 35-45.

[10]Isa. lii. 13 to liii. 12.

[11]II Cor. v. 15, 19.

[12]Matt. vi. 14, 15.

[13]Rom. viii. 13; Gal. v. 16, 18, 25; Rom. vii. 9, 10.

[14]See the author's sermon "The Path to God," in *Week Day Sermons in King's Chapel.*

[15]Rom. xiii. 11.

[16]Matt. v. 3-9, 38-48.

[17]Compare Ps. viii; John xiv. 1, 2; Matt. xxii. 32.

[18]*In Memoriam* (Prologue).

PART II
WHAT IS JUDAISM?

Chapter I

THE NATURE OF JUDAISM

The modern historical sciences have accustomed us to view all religions as vital elements of complex racial, social, and economic movements. Growing out of essentially similar psychological needs, they assume different forms among various peoples. Significant, therefore, as is the fundamental unity of the great faiths of the Ganges Valley, the Plateau of Iran, Mesopotamia, and the Nile-land, even more instructive are the unique forms of their respective expressions. "In religion as in civilization," observes G. F. Moore, "it is not the generic features but the individual characteristics that give them their highest interest and, we may say, value."[1] All religions seek to endow human life with sanctity, to enrich man with an ethical *Welt-und-lebens-anschauung;* and thereby serve as potent factors in the upward march of humanity. However, each religion traverses its separate road and carries out its mission in a manner peculiar to itself. Consequently, if we are to grasp the nature and evaluate the secret strength of any religion, we must discover not only its points of resemblance to others, but also its essential differences. We must discern the diversity in the unity, no less than the unity in the diversity.

Among the lower religions, it may be difficult to single out the characteristic features that distinguish one from the other. Lack of reasoned doctrines and of precise meanings attached to practices and customs make them appear as motley combinations of ancestor worship, magic, totem-

ism, taboos, etc. The careful observer cannot fail to notice, even there, divergences in rites and ceremonies as various as the tribes that gave them birth, and as distinctive as the conditions of climate and food supply of the soils that cradle them. As the religions reach more advanced stages of development, their individual traits become sharpened. No difficulty whatever exists in differentiating the religion of Babylonia from that of Egypt, or the worship of Greece from that of Rome. These polytheistic faiths of antiquity all emerged in national forms, inseparably associated with the needs and destinies of particular peoples, expanding with their political, economic, and cultural advance, and shrinking with their decay. Nor do the most advanced religions of today form an exception. Ernst Troeltsch was therefore justified in taking the view that: "The great religions might be described as crystallizations of the thought of great races, as those races are themselves crystallizations of the various biological and anthropological forms."[2] Even where nations take over the religions of others, they so recast them in their own mental and psychic molds as to produce new creations. As the faculty of speech—inherent in all humanity—finds expression in vast varieties of language, so religion—the common birthright of man—takes on forms as varied as the people that profess it.

With these considerations in mind, it will be my privilege and pleasure to present to you some characteristics of Judaism. Speaking before Christian scholars and students, I need hardly dwell upon the purposes, tendencies and forms, common to Judaism and her daughter-religion, Christianity. Going back to the history and literature of ancient Israel as their common source—which is also their spiritual bond of union—they share many elements of doctrine, ethical idealism, and even ceremonial observance.

My task, in these lectures, will, therefore, be limited to the portrayal of the nature of Judaism as expressed in a few historical and associational facts that have served as its protecting garments, and that have lent it dignity and uniqueness.

I—Definition of Judaism

While the religion of the Jewish people had its origin in most ancient times, the name "Judaism" comes from a rather late age. Appearing first in II Maccabees,[3] a Greek work of the end of the second pre-Christian century, it bears the mark of having been coined in antithesis to the term Hellenism. During the soul-trying struggle against the superior strength and the rich, though considerably decayed, culture of the Syrian Greeks, the sharp contrast between Hellenism and Judaism grew painfully evident to the Jews. We are told that "A man could neither keep the Sabbath, nor celebrate the feasts of the fathers, nor so much as confess himself to be a Jew."[4] As the practice of the Jewish faith constituted an offense in the eyes of the oppressors, martyrs appeared who "most resolutely risked body and life for 'Judaism'."[5] Lightfoot's conjecture concerning the genesis of the term Ἰουδαῖος, may be correct: "Though perhaps originally coined by the heathen and, as used by them, conveying some shadow of contempt, it would, when neutralized among the Jews themselves, lose this idea and even become a title of honor. The case of Χριστιανός, likewise a term of reproach in the first instance, is a parallel."[6]

Its incorporation into the Hebrew idiom dates from the Middle Ages. The Talmud still speaks of the Jewish faith as *Dat Moshe* (the Law of Moses) and of popular Jewish piety as *Dat Jehudit*.[7] It first occurs in the very late Midrash Esther Rabba; in the form of *Jehudut*. Still later the

form *Jahadut* arose,[8] to denote "the religion of the Jew" and also "the Jewish conscience."

That this coinage should have first appeared during the Greek period of Jewish history can hardly be considered accidental. The gentilic *Jehudi,* from which *Jahadut* is abstracted, at first denoted a member of the tribe of Judah, but, subsequent to the fall of the Northern Kingdom, it came to designate a member of any Israelite tribe.[9] Accordingly, the book of Esther, which was probably written in Maccabean times, speaks of Mordecai the Benjamite, as *Jehudi.*[10] As citizenship in antiquity depended not primarily, as today, upon voluntary political association, or upon linguistic and territorial affiliation, but upon descent and religion, the term *Jehudi* most likely partook of both. The worship of foreign gods indeed rendered a person reprehensible in the eyes of loyal Jahwists, but did not exclude him from the national body. With the tightening of the spiritual ties in post-Exilic times, religion naturally became the exclusive criterion of Jewish nationality. This transformation resulted from prophetic teaching, on the one hand, and from the new conditions created by the Jewish dispersion, on the other. For Jews living in Egypt, Babylonia, Persia, and Media, neither territory nor language could continue as bonds of Jewishness. Only descent and religion remained. The frequency of intermarriage and the conversion of considerable numbers to the Jewish faith rendered religion the only real bond of Jewish union. Accordingly, Zechariah viii. 23 refers to men of various tongues uniting themselves to the Jews through their faith. Similarly Trito-Isaiah speaks of strangers attached to the worship of Jahweh as being inseparable from the Jews.[11] During the Greek period when the Jewish propaganda was making considerable headway, the verbal form *Mityahadim* came to express "conversion to

the Jewish faith."[12] The term *Jehudi*[13] now assumed a distinctly religious connotation. The Rabbis could, therefore, state that "whoever denies recognition of idolatry is called a *Jehudi*."[13] With greater insight the Midrash justifies the description of Mordecai the Benjamite as *Jehudi* by playfully interpreting it as *Yehidi*, a "confessor of the Divine Unity."[14]

Judaism thus came to denote the religion of the Jewish people, their beliefs, ideals, laws, and customs. It represented not a mere *creed* in the ordinary sense of the word, but the whole spiritual life of the Jewish people, the service which they rendered, and the devotion which they manifested to the cause of the One, Holy, Righteous, and Loving God. Cradled in Palestine, it was transplanted—in the course of the ages—to all parts of the world. While exposed to varied influences, through its contact with the changing civilizations, religions, philosophies, and sciences, of the Old as of the New World, Judaism has retained its essential unity and consistency of character. As a living tree, it has naturally been affected by its new environments and by the severe storms that threatened its existence; but it has been ever growing from within and yielding its native fruit which has given life to the Jewish people. It has represented the spiritual fatherland of the dispersed, footsore, and harassed race. Cooped up in ghettos, the Jews found strength and freedom in the wide horizons of the Torah and in the world mission that it held out to them. Witnesses of God, they joyfully sealed their testimony to the eternal truths of Judaism, with their lives. On the other hand, whoever withdrew from the congregation "denied the root principle." By separating himself from Jewish religious life, he ceased to be a Jew.

This conception of Judaism underwent a radical transformation during the past century. With the fall of the

ghetto, in consequence of the civic emancipation of the Jews in Western Europe, the unique atmosphere that preserved the distinctively Jewish life was radically changed. Western culture began to exert a disintegrating effect upon the Jews. For many centuries they had been unjustly treated as step-children in most European lands. And now as the long-cherished prospect of equality and freedom was nearing realization, many of them sought to lose themselves within the large nations of Europe. For the sake of emancipation, they renounced the existence of a Jewish *nation*, and came to regard Judaism as a religion pure and simple. Giving themselves heart and soul to the countries of which they formed a part, they differed from their fellow citizens in religion only.

A new factor entered into Jewish thought in the wake of the birth of the idea of nationalism, which roused Greece and Italy to new life. In Jewish hearts, too, the dream of a national revival appeared, which, under the pressure of social and political anti-Semitism, and through the leadership of Theodore Herzl, was crystallized into Political Zionism. A tendency manifested itself among some Jews to emphasize their nationalism as distinct from their religion. Many men, despite their having fallen away from all religious life, grew conscious of a deep-rooted connection with the Jewish people. An instinctive national feeling held them as Jews, quite independent of religious beliefs and practices. Avowed atheists like Max Nordau and Ben Yehuda[15] appeared as the champions of a secular Jewish nationalism. Others like Ahad Ha'am stressed the spiritual aspects of Jewish nationalism.[16] With slight differences, these various tendencies agree in regarding Judaism as the national culture of the Jewish people, rather than their religion, supporting this view by the analogy of such terms as "Hellenism," "Germanism," and

"Americanism." "Judaism as a religion" and "Judaism as a culture" have become the *shibboleths* of modern Jewish thinking.

A reconciliation of these extremes appears in the thinking of those who, while considering Judaism as the many-sided expression of the distinctively Jewish spirit, recognize *religion* as its all-dominant element. B. Felsenthal, an exponent of this view, writes:

> "Judaism" and the "Jewish religion" are not synonymous terms. "Judaism" is more comprehensive than "Jewish religion," for "Jewish religion" is only part of "Judaism." Judaism is the composite of the collected thoughts, sentiments, and efforts of the Jewish people. In other words, Judaism is the sum total of all the manifestations of the distinctively Jewish national spirit.
>
> The Jewish religion is, then, only a part of Judaism, though by far its most important part. Among no other people on earth has religion occupied so large, so significant a place in their spiritual life, as it has among the Jews. But besides religion there were, and there still are, other elements in Judaism.[17]

II—The National Substratum

The conflicting views regarding its character have led to a clearer understanding of Judaism in both its national and universal aspects. Even those who see it as a religion only recognize that Judaism derives its individuality from its vital union with the Jewish people. As Dr. K. Kohler states, "religion and race form an inseparable whole in Judaism."[18] What the soul is to the body, Judaism is to the Jewish people. It has animated and given aim and direction to Israel's history, and thereby acted as a dynamic force in the life of civilized humanity.

As the Jews differ from other ethnic groups, so Judaism is distinguished from their faiths. The distinctions are clearer in some instances than in others, but they seem to be present everywhere. To the fancy of the Rabbis, Israel appeared like unto the thornbush which "burned with fire and was not consumed." Why the fire of God descended upon Israel may be an enigma no less perplexing than that of genius in general. The fact remains that, from its very beginning, Israel has been the people consecrated unto God and His worship.

The characteristic feature of Judaism is reflected in its name. Unlike the other distinguished systems of religion like Buddhism, Christianity, or Mohammedanism, it centers not in the life and teachings of any one spiritual personality, but in a whole people. Indeed at the head of our religious history stands Moses, but both tradition and scientific history trace its roots further back. The Pentateuchal narratives mark its beginning with the call of Abraham. That iconoclast left Ur of the Chaldees with its moon worship, and took up his abode in Canaan, where he was free to invoke the name of the Most High God, Maker of heaven and earth. Moses may be considered as the founder of the religion of Israel only in a limited sense. Whatever theory of the origin of Judaism be posited, it may be confidently asserted that Moses deepened the ancestral or acquired faith, and, by formulating the Ten Words as the terms of the covenant between Israel and God, gave the faith an ethical direction. As this covenant determined the nature of some of the early legislation, which Moses directed, the Torah came to be bound up with his name. In the light of modern scholarship it is quite evident that hosts of other luminous spirits shared in shaping the character of Judaism. We fail to comprehend its genius without taking account of the contributions of the priests,

prophets, sages, psalmists, rabbis, philosophers, mystics, legalists, and poets, of more than three thousand years.

Furthermore, putting the mechanical theory of revelation aside, and taking the human factor into consideration, we can regard the labors of these masters only as the outgrowth of national needs. They were called to their prophetic tasks by the crises that confronted their people. Though rising to the greatest spiritual heights, they did not dissociate themselves from the hard realities of earth. They were children of their time and of their people. The student of Israel's history can, therefore, trace the rise of law and ritual, of ethical precept and ceremonial observance, whether of the Bible or of later periods, to changes in the economic, political, and social conditions of the people.

This rather obvious consideration that Judaism is the creation not of any one master—be he Moses, Ezra, or Hillel—but rather of the collective spirit of the entire Jewish people, accounts for much that is distinctive in its attitude toward life, and in its forms of worship. Its sacred days, for instance, are not connected with the birth or death of any one personage, as in the case of Christianity, but are bound up with the destinies of the Jewish people. The ancient pilgrim festivals—products of an agricultural economy, in the first instance—have become commemorative of outstanding events in the life of Israel: the Passover, of the Exodus; Pentecost, of the Sinaitic Covenant; and the Feast of Tabernacles, of the Divine guidance through the period of desert wandering. The minor festivals, Ḥanukkah and Purim, celebrate Israel's deliverance from the danger of extermination. Even the purely humanitarian day of rest, the Sabbath, has been connected with the nation's redemption from the bondage of Egypt. Likewise the supremely spiritual days of New

Year and Atonement, while striking the deepest notes of universalism, have received a specifically Jewish setting.

The inseparable connection between Judaism and the Jewish people has determined the character of the ethics of Judaism, no less than of its modes of worship.[19] This appears strikingly when we compare Jewish with Christian ethics. Both aim at absoluteness, inwardness, and universality. The sanctification of life in all of its relations constitutes their common ideal. Nevertheless a contrast of mode of expression manifests itself. In Christianity, the center of gravity is the individual. Without overlooking society, it has "for its *end* the salvation of the individual; for its *means*, the belief in a *mediator* between God and the individual; for its condition, *grace*."[20] Godlikeness is manifested through Jesus, who is viewed as the pattern of goodness and the inspiration and cause of life to all who believe.[21] In Judaism, on the other hand, the Jewish people represent the unit of thought. Without ignoring the individual, from the standpoint of either responsibility or perfection, Jewish ethics is essentially national, that is, social, in character. Its chief aim is the well-being of society, and its great hope rests in the perfectibility of the human race. Hence the emphasis of Judaism is not on grace alone, but on grace grounded in righteousness. In its vision, the Divine attribute of mercy is inseparably associated with that of justice. Unitedly they guide the destinies of man, and call moral order out of the chaos and confusion resulting from selfishness and hatred. Judaism tempers justice with love, thereby saving justice from hardness; and it keeps love within the restraint of justice, thereby saving love from degenerating into vapid sentimentality.[22] The social character of Jewish ethics is reflected in the Pentateuchal legislation concerning the Sabbath, the Sabbatical and Jubilee

years and land tenure. It forms the motive power of the other portions of the Law as well as of the prophetic calls for justice between rich and poor, and the glorious visions of peace within each nation, and among the nations. Its national or social character likewise accounts for Judaism's preoccupation with ethics rather than with eschatology. As a religion that is rooted in the life of a people, its chief aim is not the salvation of souls from damnation in the Hereafter, but the hallowing of the lives of men in the Here and Now. In Judaism's view *God's Kingdom* is also of this world.

III—The Universal Aspect of Judaism

Though brought forth, preserved, and fostered by the Jewish people, Judaism is universal in its aims and ideals. Historical circumstances have prevented its carrying into reality its initial impulse of spreading its message in all lands and among all peoples. Its title to universality rests on the fact that, by its character, Judaism is applicable to all men. An ethical, philosophic, aesthetic, or scientific truth may not be known by ninety-nine per cent of mankind, and yet be universal in the truest sense of the word. Universality is ultimately determined not by numbers but by the indwelling spirit. For instance, Homer, Dante, Shakespeare, Goethe, Hugo, Tolstoy, Ibsen, and Tagore spoke to the heart of all humanity, though each wrote in the idiom of his particular people. More eminently, the prophetic truths of religion, while linked with the life and destiny of the Jewish people, transcended the bounds of nationality, and made an irresistible appeal to all men. Even as the individual founders of religions have not kept their light for their own exclusive enjoyment, so Israel, the servant and witness of God—to use, the figures of Deutero-Isaiah's vision—has faced the whole world with

the heaven-inspired message. The Torah (Law), according to the Rabbis, was given in the wilderness, in No-man's Land, and was proclaimed in all the seventy tongues of men, that no group of people might claim proprietary rights upon it.[23] Its light is intended for all the races of man. "And nations shall walk in thy light, and kings at the brightness of thy rising."[24] Even of the national sanctuary on Mt. Zion, the prophet said in God's name: "My house shall be called a house of prayer for all peoples."[25] And he called:

> Look unto Me, and be ye saved,
> All the ends of the earth;
> For I am God, and there is none else.
> By Myself have I sworn,
> The word is gone forth from My mouth in righteousness,
> And shall not come back [empty],
> That unto Me every knee shall bow
> And every tongue shall swear.[26]

That much of the Jewish message has been received by the nations of the earth is a matter of history. Professor Butcher is not alone in his opinion that Judaism, or in his nomenclature, Hebraism and Hellenism are the streams which, by their confluence, gave the Western World its culture. Matthew Arnold, before him, popularized this idea in his *Literature and Dogma, God and the Bible*, and *Culture and Anarchy*, claiming for Hebraism the government of three fourths of human life. Whether his proportion is right or not, it can hardly be gainsaid that the thought and conduct of humanity have been molded by the Hebrew Bible and its standards of right and wrong. From Zion went forth the Law, and the word of God from Jerusalem.

The influence of Judaism upon the nations began to

make itself felt during the Second Commonwealth. The parable of Jonah illustrates how the prophetic truths of Judaism broke through the barriers of nationality, and reached even hostile nations, to work among them the miracles of redemption. The other literary masterpiece of approximately the same age, Ruth, shows that a conscious effort was made to welcome even the Moabites into the communion of the God of Israel, the Deuteronomic prohibition notwithstanding.[27] From the same age we hear the prophetic voice of Malachi, with the ringing declaration: "From the rising of the sun unto its going down My name is great among the nations; and in every place offerings are presented unto My name, even pure oblations."[28] From him, too, came this impressive spiritual challenge:

> Have we not all one Father?
> Hath not one God created us?
> Why do we deal treacherously every man against his brother,
> Profaning the covenant of our fathers?[29]

In the same universalistic spirit, the much underrated priestly writers composed the majestic cosmology of Genesis, emphasizing not only God's universal Fatherhood, but also the essential kinship of the human race, in the creation of Adam and in humanity's regeneration after the flood through the descendants of Noah.

To the priestly and to the prophetic writers alike, Professor Morgenstern's words apply:

> Their conception of universalism was founded, not upon the principle of obliteration of national, racial, cultural, or even religious differences, but solely upon the principle of world-wide recognition of the principles of divine fatherhood and human brotherhood and common worship of the one, true God. That

> theirs was no program of assimilation is proved by the fact that they insisted upon a peculiar, distinctive, and separative role for Israel in this great scheme of universalism; Israel could discharge its God-imposed mission only by remaining distinctly Israel, and thus raising all nations to its height of knowledge and belief, not by submerging itself among the nations.[30]

These universalistic conceptions of religion served as the leaven of Jewish propaganda in pre-Christian and in the first Christian centuries. "Moses," we are informed, "had his teachers from the earliest ages in every town, where he is read aloud in the Synagogues every Sabbath."[31] The imageless worship of God which they preached, and the pure morality which they upheld, brought hope and healing to many hearts that were sick of the follies and corruption of heathenism. Even the Sabbath day, the dietary laws, and the ceremonial practices of Judaism gained numerous adherents. Consequently proselyte communities sprang up wherever Jewish congregations flourished. The earnestness with which the masters of Judaism strove to win the gentiles for God may be read in the Sybilline Oracles and in the sermons of Philo. The formulation of the seven Noachian laws of morality as binding upon all men shows how deeply the Pharisees were concerned with the extension of at least a minimum of Judaism to the whole world. They were charged with compassing sea and land to make one convert.[32] The call of Judaism resounded in distant lands. Even despotic Rome heard and trembled. Men and women of imperial blood listened to the word of God that came from despised and despoiled Zion. Leading Pharisees like Shemaiah and Abtalion, Akiba and Meir, were reputed to have descended from converts. Saintly souls like Aquila embraced the Jewish faith and became zealous propagandists of its cause.[33]

The catastrophic fall of Jerusalem in 70 C. E. paralyzed the missionary propaganda of Judaism. Having held the Roman legions at bay for several years, and further continuing to test the patience of the ruthless conquerors for a couple of generations, in the desperate effort to regain their freedom, the Jewish people drew upon themselves the hatred and contempt of the proud Romans. A war of extermination was now launched against the religion of the stubborn Judeans. In this uneven struggle, Esau (employed by the rabbis as representative of Rome), through his stronger arms, crushed the body of Jacob, but was ultimately vanquished by his brother's voice. The Arch of Titus, erected at Rome, bearing the sculptured representation of the sacred vessels of the Temple of Jerusalem, that were carried in the conqueror's triumphal procession as trophies of war, has become the symbol of the entry of much of the Jewish spirit into the Eternal City of paganism. Not imperial Rome but lowly Jerusalem was henceforth to rule the spiritual destinies of humanity.

The Law of God that issued from it was not checked even when the Church of Rome drove Judaism from the field of missionary activity, and forced it "to employ all its energy in the single effort for self-preservation."[34] Indirectly the Jewish religious ideal served as the foundation of Christianity. Growing out of the Messianic yearnings of the Jewish people, Christianity for a time labored as a Jewish sect. The Judaizing Christians regarded their movement as a means of extending Judaism, and of winning the gentiles for the Law of Moses. To them Christianity appeared as a development of Judaism.[35] The energetic efforts of the Apostle unto the Gentiles were likewise, in great measure, based on Jewish foundations. Saul of Tarsus carried the Gospel to many lands, frequently utilizing the Synagogues of the far-flung Diaspora as centers

of his activity. Absorbing the rites and customs of Graeco-Roman heathenism, Christianity also preserved the distinctly moral elements that it derived from Judaism. With the cross in one hand and with the Decalogue in the other, it made its triumphant march through the ages. With the aid of the Hebrew Bible and in the name of the God of Israel—despite the strange interpretation that it sometimes placed upon Him—it won its victories over the licentiousness, degeneracy, and inhumanity of the pagan nations. "Through the Church," observed Woodrow Wilson, "there entered into Europe a potent leaven of Judaic thought." It is traceable in every phase of European civilization: its morality, legislation, thought, creeds and rituals, art, drama, and poetry.[36]

Also directly through its inherent truths and through the labors of its consecrated followers, Judaism continued to play a significant part in shaping the religious life of mankind. It roused Mohammed to undertake his great mission of religious reform among the Arabs, and to carry his campaign of conversion to distant lands. Deepened and enlarged in content through the Halachah (the legal portions of the Talmud) and Haggadah (the narrative and ethical portions of the Talmud), it acted as a correcting check on the doctrines of both the Church and the Mosque. Through the refinement of religious values in consequence of the Karaitic schism (8th century),[37] Judaism developed a formidable body of philosophy of world-wide significance. Reconciling religion with Aristotelianism, the dominant science of the Middle Ages, Maimonides became the teacher of Thomas Aquinas, as was Gabirol of Duns Scotus, thereby affecting profoundly the foundations of scholasticism. The Jewish grammarians and commentators of the Bible—like Hayyuj, Ibn Ezra, Rashi, and Kimḥi—unequivocally held out the thoughts of Judaism on the

Bible and its message before the world. Their labors yielded fruit in the Protestant Reformation. Christian Hebraists, like Reuchlin, Pico-de-Mirandola, Melanchthon, the Buxtorfs, and many others, drank deeply from their fountains, and, exploring the Hebrew Bible, Rabbinic, and Kabbalistic literatures, found many a new weapon, in their struggles for a purer Christianity. Judaizing, to be sure, ever constituted a heresy, from which neither Catholicism in its Greek and Roman divisions nor Protestantism ever wholly freed itself. The Hebraic spirit manifested itself forcefully in the Puritan movement and in much that resulted from it in the life and literature of England and America. Through Spinoza and—to a lesser degree—through Moses Mendelssohn, the spirit of Judaism gained the respect of Lessing, Herder, Kant, Goethe, Matthew Arnold, Huxley, and hosts of other advanced intellects. Nor have the researches of the pioneers of the scientific study of Judaism—Zunz, Z. Frankel, Luzzatto, Geiger, and Graetz—been without effect on Christian scholars. The modern restatements of Judaism and its ethics by M. Lazarus, Steinthal, Hermann Cohen, Kaufman Kohler, and Claude G. Montefiore, and their renewed emphasis on the prophetic ideals of religion as based on justice and love, and on righteousness as the foundation of social progress, have heartened the general cause of religious liberalism.

Though not an actively militant proselytizing faith, Judaism has given a great deal to humanity; and, under God's guidance, may contribute much also in the future. Recognizing the rights of other religions to existence as beneficient forces, Judaism seeks not to supplant them but to labor with them in honorable fellowship for the eradication of the plague spots of modern civilization, of hatred and prejudice, of ignorance and superstition, and for the

enthronement of the One and Holy God in the lives of all men.

IV—The Higher Synthesis

Israel's historical quest after God and after the knowledge of His ways, which constitutes the essence of Judaism, has invariably manifested itself in the double aspects of national form and universal aspiration. At certain stages, the national and the universal have appeared as irreconcilably antagonistic, one to the other. Like two souls they seemed to struggle against each other for the exclusive possession of the Jewish body. Now the particularistic national element of Judaism prevailed, and now the universalistic. At times the whole aim and purpose of Judaism was confined to Jewish nationalism and to "the four ells of the Halachah," and at others its world mission alone loomed large upon the horizon. However, in reality, the two do not oppose but rather complete and perfect one another. The national and the universal elements constitute what have been aptly termed the centripetal and the centrifugal forces that help to keep Judaism alive. Its national aspect keeps Judaism from sinking into characterless theism or from becoming a mere variant of socalled natural religion. Its universalism preserves Judaism from the no less serious danger of growing narrow, self-sufficient, separatistic, and provincial.

True to its own character, Judaism sums up the profoundest truths of the world's religions and philosophies on life's deepest problems, and stamps with its genius the conceptions of God, the soul, duty, and faith. Thus Judaism is an ever-growing body of spiritual values, centering around the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, held together as a historical entity by its close con-

tact with the Jewish people. As an unbroken chain of tradition, Judaism links all the generations of Israel. Entering into every phase of their thought and conduct, it has earned for itself the title of the "Religion of Life." Planning for the future, it does not overlook the present; dreaming of heaven, it does not forget the earth. Striving after social welfare, it seeks the establishment of the Kingdom of God.

Chapter II

FAITH AND REASON IN JUDAISM

While assuming national and universal dimensions, religion is essentially an affair of the individual soul. Lying at the roots of personal life, and reaching out after the Infinite, it expresses itself through the emotions, intellect, and will; and is embodied in faith, knowledge, and conduct. This is another way of saying that the will to believe and to understand inheres in our common humanity. It is in the modes of its expression that variations appear. The particular construction that religions place upon "faith" and "reason" may, therefore, serve as the barometer with which to test their characters.

I—Biblical Conception of Faith

In Judaism, faith is treated from both the psychological and the logical aspects. The term *Emunah* covers both "faith" and "belief." Derived from the root *Aman* (to confirm, support, establish), it denotes firmness, steadfastness, fidelity.[1] It is closely related to the word for "truth," *Emet*, which (as a contraction of *Emenet*) is derived from the same root, and likewise expresses the idea of firmness, faithfulness, and reliability.[2] While *Emet* applies primarily to objective facts, *Emunah* is confined to the subjective, and is employed with reference to human conduct.[3] Accordingly it is sometimes associated with *Ẓedek* (righteousness).[4]

How highly *Emunah* was valued may be estimated from the prophet Habakkuk's declaration: "The righteous

(*Ẓaddik*) shall live by his faith (*Emunah*)."[5] Conceiving it as a Divine attribute[6] and as a revelation of God's nature and works, the Psalmist exclaims: "Thy loving kindness, O Lord, is in the heavens; Thy *faithfulness* reacheth unto the skies."[7] And again: "All His work is done in *faithfulness*."[8] Hosea links faith with mercy and righteousness as bonds uniting man with God: "I will betroth thee unto Me in righteousness, and in justice, and in loving kindness, and in compassion. And I will betroth thee unto Me in faithfulness; and thou shalt know the Lord."[9]

It is clear that the Hebrew usage of *Emunah* expresses the sense of reliability, confidence, and trust in God and in His revealed will. Such an attitude of mind was considered praiseworthy. Abraham "*believed* in the Lord and He counted it to him for righteousness."[10] Isaiah warns his contemporaries: "If ye will not *believe* (i.e., if ye will have no confidence in God's saving power), surely ye shall not be established."[11] Faith not alone in God, but also in His messengers, is highly extolled.[12] According to the Chronicler, King Jehoshaphat declared to his people: "*Believe* in the Lord your God, so shall ye be established; *believe* His prophets, so shall ye prosper."[13]

The element of trust that enters into our conception of faith is covered by the Hebrew word *Bittaḥon*, and is interchangeable with *Emunah*. Thus the Assyrian emissary Rabshakeh calls out to King Hezekiah: "What is this *trust* that thou dost *trust*? . . . Upon whom dost thou *rely* (*baṭaḥta*) that thou hast rebelled against me?"[14] In praise of Hezekiah it is said that, "In the Lord of Israel he *trusted*."[15] To the Psalmist, the attitude of trust expresses the highest piety.[16]

The religious consciousness as reflected in the Bible represents the sense of personal relationship to God, the all-

powerful, all-good, all-wise, all-righteous, all-true, and all-holy. Belief and trusting confidence in Him who alone is worthy of complete adoration constituted the essence of personal religion, and expressed themselves in the emotions which modern psychologists call distinctively religious, such as reverence, awe, love, and gratitude.[17] Those that lack personal confidence in God are condemned. Moses and Aaron, despite their devotion to God, are rebuked for striking the rock instead of speaking to it: "Because ye *believed* not in Me, to sanctify Me in the eyes of the children of Israel, therefore ye shall not bring this assembly into the land which I have given them."[18] The children of Israel are denounced for their lack of faith, as being perverse.[19] They are condemned not so much because of their intellectual as because of their practical dissent, as expressed in their idolatry and immorality, their faithlessness and looseness, their complete break with the covenant of God. "The wicked boasteth of his heart's desire, and the covetous vaunteth himself, though he contemn the Lord. The wicked in the pride of his countenance [saith]: 'He will not require'; all his thoughts are: 'There is no God.' "[20] The people of Israel were required to show concretely their trust and confidence in God, who appeared as their Redeemer and Friend. Their hearts and minds were to be attuned to God, ready and eager to seek His presence.

While the predominant aspect in the Biblical conception of faith is psychological or volitional (i.e., it finds expression in surrender to God, in trust in Him, and in obedience to His commands), the cognitive side is not wholly absent. The very nature of Jahwism as a "covenant" religion involved emphasis upon belief. The prophets continually called upon Israel to *believe* in Jahweh's superiority over the deities of the surrounding nations. Elijah challenged the people to choose between Jahweh and Baal. Amos,

Hosea, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Deutero-Isaiah not only thundered against idolatrous forms of worship, but endeavored to demonstrate the lofty ethical character, the unity, and the spirituality of Jahweh. Their watchword is, "Thou shalt know Jahweh." "For Jahweh your God, He is the God of gods," declares the Deuteronomist, "and the Lord of all lords, the great God, the mighty, and the awful, who regardeth not persons nor taketh reward. He doth execute justice for the fatherless and widow, and loveth the stranger, in giving him food and raiment."[21] These beliefs of the prophets concerning God's justice and love, His government and providence, naturally called forth discussion. Reason was accordingly summoned to serve the cause of belief. This tendency is strikingly illustrated in Ezekiel's argumentation with the elders (xviii) and in the sublime debate of Job and his friends, on the ways of God with man.

II—Rabbinic Views of Faith

Rational belief, supplementing inherited traditions, was further accentuated by the contact of Judaism with Zoroastrian dualism, and still more by its contact with the protean forms of Hellenistic pluralism. The nature of evil, angelology, resurrection, immortality, revelation, and Israel's destiny powerfully agitated the minds of thinking men. Ben Sira still stressed the moral rather than the doctrinal side of belief, when he said:

> Woe unto the faint heart, for it believeth not,
> Therefore shall it not be sheltered.[22]

But the doctrinal phase of belief grew into ever greater prominence. When Judaism entered upon its career of propaganda for universal acceptance, the question of what to believe assumed a most vital significance. As evidenced

in Hellenistic Jewish writings, this condition led to important developments in the spheres of both philosophy and dogma.[23]

The Jewish conception of faith was subjected to a still more thorough testing by the appearance of Christianity. Paulinian theology chartered out a new career for faith as a dogmatic message, viz., that Jesus is Lord and Christ. Under the influence of current mystery religions, salvation became dependent not upon conduct nor works but upon a mystic faith in Jesus. "Confess *with your mouth* that 'Jesus is Lord,' believe *in your heart* that God raised him from the dead, and you will be saved; for

> With his heart man believes and is justified,
> With his mouth he confesses and is saved."[24]

And more explicitly: "Before this faith came, we were confined by the Law and kept in custody, with the prospect of the faith that was to be revealed; the Law thus held us as wards in discipline, till such time as Christ came, that we might be justified by faith. But faith has come, and we are wards no longer; you are all sons of God by your faith in Christ Jesus (for all of you who had yourselves baptised into Christ have taken on the character of Christ)." And again, "Christ ransomed us from the curse of the Law by becoming accursed for us (for it is written, *cursed is everyone who hangs on a gibbet*), that the blessing of Abraham might reach the gentiles in Christ Jesus, so that by faith we might receive the promised Spirit."[25]

In the name of the new dispensation, the Jews were urged to abandon their ceremonial law. Trained to express their faith in deeds rather than in verbal confessions and assured of the Divine origin of the Torah, they answered with renewed attachment to the word of God. As when tried by the Syrian Greeks, so now, though crushed

by the Roman heel and threatened by the vigorous rival faith, they again demonstrated, through their martyrdom, that their love for God was stronger than death. The Torah now appeared as the manifestation of God's love for them. "Exceeding great love was shown to them [to the people of Israel]," declared the martyr Rabbi 'Akiba, "in that [the Torah] the precious instrument whereby God created the world, was entrusted to them." 'Akiba demonstrated this spirit by defying the Roman prohibition of the study of the Torah, and by indefatigably preaching in many communities and firing the hearts of the people with faith in God and with loyalty to Israel. When a certain Papus warned him of the danger to which he exposed himself, he replied with this parable:

> It is like unto a fox that ran by the river bank, and beheld fishes hurrying in all directions. "Why this excitement?" he asked. "Because nets are spread for us," replied the harassed creatures. "Then would you not come ashore," the crafty fox suggested, "where we shall live together in safety, even as did our fathers in the past?" To which, the fishes answered: "Art thou he who is famed as the wisest of animals? Thou speakest as a fool. If within our element, we are beset with fear, how much greater will be our danger outside thereof!" Even so are we. If, while engaged in the Torah, of which it is written: "It is thy life and the length of thy days," we are in danger, how much greater will be our peril if we should abandon the study of the words of the Torah![26]

This noble soul, together with a number of like-minded comrades, was exposed to martyrdom for his patriotism and his religion. He died with the word *Ehad* (one) of the *Shema Yisrael,* on his lips. According to a Midrash:[27]

"The people of Israel said: 'We know the power of the Torah; hence shall we not move from the Holy One, blessed be He, and from His Torah,' as it is said: 'I sat down under his shadow with great delight, and his fruit was sweet to my taste.' "[28] Discussing the verse in Exodus xxxii. 16: "And the tables were the work of God and the writing was the writing of God, *graven* upon the tables," the Midrash suggests that the word *harut* (graven) be read *ḥerut* (freedom), and asks, "What kind of freedom?" Rabbi Judah replies, "Freedom from political oppression." Rabbi Nehemiah says, "Freedom from the angel of death [i.e., saving the soul for eternal life]; for when Israel accepted the Torah at Sinai, God said unto the angel of death: 'Over all nations thou art free to exercise thy might, but not over this nation, for it is My own portion.' "[29]

Commenting on the verse of the pastoral Psalm, "Thy rod and Thy staff, they comfort me," the rabbis said that " 'Thy rod' refers to suffering and 'Thy staff' to the Torah." Both betoken God's care and love for His people. The words of the Song of Songs, "stay me with flagons" (*Ashishot*, homiletically construed as the plural of *Esh*, fire), expressed for them the belief that they were being upheld by the two fiery laws—by the written and the oral Torahs. Hosea's prophecy: "I shall be as dew unto Israel, he shall blossom as the lily," suggested the thought that even as the lily is preserved for its fragrance, so Israel will not cease to be, because of the Torah and the practice of good deeds.[30] The same spirit is voiced in the old prayer, which may date from Temple times:

> With everlasting love, Thou hast loved the house of Israel, Thy people; a Law and commandments, statutes and judgments has Thou taught us. Therefore, O Lord our God, when we lie down and when we rise

> up we will meditate on Thy statutes; yea, we will rejoice in the words of Thy Law and in thy commandments for ever, for they are our life and the length of our days; and we will meditate on them day and night. And mayest Thou never take away Thy love from us. Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who lovest Thy people Israel.[31]

And in the private morning devotions, the Jews were taught to pray:

> Make pleasant therefore, we beseech Thee, O Lord our God, the words of Thy Law in our mouth and in the mouth of Thy people, the house of Israel, so that we with our offspring and the offspring of Thy people, the house of Israel, may all know Thy name and learn Thy Law. Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who teachest the Law to Thy people Israel.[32]

As the reward of their faith, the people were promised their ultimate Messianic redemption. An early Midrash extols faith as causing the Holy Spirit to rest upon the people, and adds:

> Thou findest that Abraham inherited both this world and that of the hereafter, only through the merit of his faith, as it is stated: "And he believed in the Lord" (Gen. xv. 6). Similarly thou findest that our fathers were delivered out of Egypt only through the merit of their faith, as it is pointed out: "And the people believed" (Exodus iv. 31). . . . Thus too thou findest that the dispersed exiles will be gathered [into the Holy Land] only as the reward of faithfulness, as [God says unto Israel], "Come with me from Lebanon, My bride. . . . Look from the top of Amana [Faith]."[33]

Faith, accordingly, came to mean for the Jew steadfastness in his religious life as prescribed in the Torah, and loyalty to his people and to his God.

> It is known [writes R. Baḥia ben Asher (d. 1340)] that the holy seed of Israel, though being in *Galut* (Exile), in the lands of their enemies, scattered over all the ends of the earth, do not forget the principles of their Torah and the commandments, but guard them steadfastly and are firm in their faith, resisting the endeavors of the nations to convert them to another religion. And because of this firmness in their faith, the Holy One, blessed be He, will cause His Shechina to rest upon them, and restore them to Jerusalem as of yore.[34]

Faith also presented to the Jewish people a complete program of religious life. All of the commandments of the Torah came to be signs of faithfulness to God.[35] In his famous sermon, [36] R. Simlai (3rd century) states:

> Six hundred thirteen commandments were dictated to Moses at Sinai: three hundred sixty-five negative precepts corresponding to the number of days in the solar year, and two hundred forty-eight positive precepts corresponding to the number of parts in the human body. . . . David came and established them upon eleven; for it is written:
>
> Lord, who shall sojourn in Thy tabernacle?
> Who shall dwell upon Thy holy mountain?
> He that walketh uprightly and worketh righteousness,
> And speaketh truth in his heart;
> That hath no slander upon his tongue,
> Nor doeth evil to his fellow,
> Nor taketh up a reproach against his neighbor;
> In whose eye a vile person is despised,
> But he honoreth them that fear the Lord;
> He that sweareth to his own hurt, and changeth not;
> He that putteth not out his money on interest,
> Nor taketh a bribe against the innocent.
> He that doeth these things shall never be moved.[37]

> Then came Isaiah and founded [all the commandments] upon these six: "walking righteously, speaking uprightly, despising the gain of oppression, shaking the hand from holding of bribes, stopping the ears from hearing of blood, and shutting the eye from looking upon evil."[38]. . . Micah, in turn, based them on three, as it is written: "It hath been told thee, O man, what is good, and what the Lord doth require of thee: only to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God."[39] Isaiah again established them upon these two: "keep ye justice, and do righteousness."[40] When Amos came, he founded them on this one: "Seek ye Me, and live."[41] Rab Naḥman bar Yiẓḥak rejected the last statement on the ground that the exhortation "Seek ye Me" may mean "seek ye Me through [the observance of] the whole Torah." In his view Habakkuk [more explicitly] established [all the commandments] upon one, as it is said, "the righteous shall live by his faith."[42]

The whole body of ceremonial and ethical law ultimately rests upon the foundation of faith.

The Rabbis further found the concrete program of Jewish faith in Isaiah xxxiii. 6: "And the *stability* [literally, 'faith'] of thy *times* shall be a *hoard* of *salvation—wisdom* and *knowledge*, and the fear of the Lord, which is His treasure." Each noun in this text suggested to them one of the six bodies of religious practice codified in the Mishnah, which are crowned by "the fear of the Lord." Rabba bar Rab Huna interprets it in this sense: "Whoever has knowledge of the Torah without possessing fear of God, is like unto a treasurer unto whom the keys to the inner doors were entrusted, but not the keys to the outer

doors. Without these, how may he enter to take possession of the treasure?"[43]

Accordingly, the masters of the Synagogue continued the old Biblical conception of faith as a practical relation of confidence in God and in his revealed Law. It is viewed as the first of the seven attributes that minister before the throne of glory, the others being righteousness and justice, loving kindness and mercy, truth and peace.[44] Stripped of this poetic imagery, faith, even as the other virtues, figures as the means whereby man draws near to his Maker. "He who puts trust in the Holy One, blessed be He, has a protection in this world and in the world to come."[45] This confidence is not a mere matter of belief; it must translate itself into right conduct. "When man is brought to judgment, he is asked: 'Didst thou *deal faithfully*, didst thou set aside time for Torah; didst thou hope in God's salvation?' "[46]

However, the creedal or dogmatic aspect of *Emunah* steadily grew into ever greater prominence. Thus R. Ḥananel (990-1050) writes in his comment on Exodus xiv. 31: *Emunah* is divided into four parts: (1) belief in God; (2) belief in the prophets; (3) belief in the hereafter; (4) belief in the Messiah. *Emunah* of this nature secures for man future bliss. Commenting on Genesis xviii. 19, he stresses the binding character of tradition, and considers it part of prophetic revelation. The whole prophetic revelation must be taken on trust, and tradition must be recognized as the supreme guide in religious life.[47]

For Baḥia b. Asher, as for R. Ḥananel, *Emunah* ceased to be a mere psychological element of childlike trust and confidence in God, and assumed the character of reasoned belief—steeled into conviction—in the existence of God and in His providential care of the world and of man, a belief embodying a well-defined program of ethical rela-

tionships. The element of trust is covered by the other term, *Biṭṭaḥon*, which, in Baḥia's opinion, ranks above *Emunah*. "*Biṭṭaḥon* resembles the fruit of the tree, and *Emunah*, the tree itself. While the presence of the fruit proves that there exists a tree or plant upon which it grew, the presence of a tree by no means signifies that there is fruit upon it; for certain trees are not fruit-bearing. Even so trust shows the presence of belief, but belief does not necessarily testify that its possessor is trustful."[48]

III—The Sovereignty of Reason

The gradual transfer of *Emunah* from the realm of psychology to that of logic or philosophy on the one hand, and of dogmatics on the other, is directly traceable not only to the conflict of Judaism with Zoroastrianism, Hellenism, Christianity, and Mohammedanism, but also to the sectarian divisions within Judaism. The Karaites played an especially significant role in this development. Their denial of Rabbinic tradition called forth a revaluation of the inherited faith. In direct opposition to them, Saadia Gaon (882 or 892-942) wrote his classic work *Emunot V'de'ot*.[49] His use of the term *Emunot* in this title already carries a speculative connotation.[50] Judah ibn Tibbon, in imitation of the Arabic *'amanat*, employed it "in the sense of a philosophic doctrine," and occasionally applied it also in its non-philosophical sense of religious beliefs (*i'tikâd*).[51]

> *Emunah*, [says Saadia] appears in two ways: one true and one false. True belief consists of knowing a thing as it is, the great thing as great and the small as small, the white as white and the black as black, the existing as existing and the non-existing as non-existing. False belief consists of knowing the opposite of what is in reality, such as holding the great

small and the small great, the white black and the black white, the existing non-existing and the non-existing existing. The wise man who is deserving of praise is he who makes reality the root, adjusts his mind to it, and in his wisdom trusts that which should be trusted and takes heed of that which should be heeded. The contemptible fool, on the other hand, is he who makes his own opinion the root, and imagines that reality adjusts itself to his opinion. In his folly, he relies upon that which he should guard against, and he guards against that in which he should trust.[52]

Since *belief* derives its value from its reasonableness, Saadia devotes himself to the presentation of Judaism, from the standpoint of reason or philosophy.

All knowledge [he holds], is commonly derived from three sources: (1) sense perception, (2) direct cognition or apprehension of the mind (intuitive or immediate knowledge); (3) syllogistic reasoning (inferential or mediate knowledge). In addition to these three general sources of knowledge "we, the followers of monotheism," recognize also a fourth one, i.e., the Bible. If, as often happens, the word of Scripture appears to contradict what we had assumed as true on the basis of one or the other of the three general sources of truth, or even of all of them, it becomes our duty first to submit the assumed truth to a careful examination. For it may be found that it is based either on an imaginary experience or on false reasoning. If, upon conscientious revision, we still feel convinced that the Biblical word is in conflict with experience or reason, then we are not only entitled, but in duty bound, to interpret the Scrip-

tural passage in question allegorically,[53] so as to bring it into harmony with the accepted truth.[54]

It is evident that in Saadia's view, reason ranks as primary, and Scripture and revelation as secondary sources of truth. For him "both reason and religion sprang from the same divine source;" and it takes human reason to discover what Divine reason declares as truth.[55] Hence "any interpretation (of Scripture) agreeing to what is in reason is the truth, but any (interpretation) that leads to something that is at variance with reason is fallacious."[56] However, his intellectualism, though apparently enjoying complete autonomy, in reality seeks to serve the cause of religion. The purpose of all speculation is to appropriate through reason what was first acquired through tradition and to secure the means of "refuting anyone who will argue against us in any of the matters of our religion."[57]

Abraham ibn Daud (1110-1180), the first strict Aristotelian and forerunner of Maimonides, devoted his *Emunah Ramah* (Sublime Faith) to the interpretation of Judaism from the standpoint of reason.

> In our time [he complains], it often happens that a person who has studied a little science has no strength to hold in his hands the two lights, the light of religion in his right hand and that of his science in his left; but as the light of science is kindled, that of religion is extinguished. And not only in our generation, but also in former generations it happened thus, as our Rabbis tell us concerning Elisha "Aḥer." They state that four entered the Pardes (garden, i.e., of philosophic speculation): R. 'Akiba, Ben 'Azzai, Ben Zoma, and Elisha "Aḥer." Ben 'Azzai gazed (into the heavenly chambers) and died; Ben Zoma gazed and was injured; Elisha "Aḥer" cut down its plants (i.e., became an apostate); only 'Akiba entered

> in peace and went out in peace.[58] On this account many of our contemporaries consider the study of these high sciences as injurious, and do not turn to them at all. For this reason, too, they know nothing either of the foundations of religion and its principles, although these should command their constant attention, or even of its branches which require but a little investigation.

True philosophy, far from leading us away from religion, only confirms us in it, for that which is in reason is also in Scripture.[59]

With Maimonides (1135-1204) reason attained its apotheosis. What distinguishes man from brute creation is his rationality. While at birth this element forms but part of his psychic powers, it may develop in the course of time into its full and unique being. From a state of potentiality it may reach that of actuality. As the "acquired intellect" it ceases to be a "power in the body; it is rather distinct from the body" and does not decay with the decay of the body.[60] Thus reason insures man immortality. The whole aim of man is to cultivate his intellect, through the study of philosophy and theology. To facilitate the cultivation of men of high intellectual attainment constitutes the chief aim of society. Religion itself serves this end, for it represents a popular philosophy, and, on its practical side, a body of morality and social pedagogy. Religion is, accordingly, subordinated to reason. Hence Maimonides, discussing the doctrine of the eternity of matter, states that he would accept it in preference to that of the creation of matter if he had convincing proofs for it.[61]

The Torah itself in his view figures as the revelation of the Divine mind and, on this account, must be in agreement with the highest truths known to man. In this spirit

he set himself to interpreting away all the anthropomorphic and anthropopathic expressions from the Bible and to making it express ideas that stand in conformity with reason or philosophy. In the fifty-first chapter of the third part of his *Guide of the Perplexed*, he pictures six groups of people who set out to visit the King in his palace: One group is wholly out of the King's province, i.e., is devoid of all religion and morals, like animals; another group of men is headed in the opposite direction from the palace. The farther it goes the farther it is from its goal. The third group consists of people who never saw the palace, i.e., the common folk who observe the practical religious duties without being aware of the speculative principles. The fourth group is composed of men who circle around the palace but do not enter, i.e., they have acquired by tradition certain true beliefs but do not enter to examine the roots of the Torah. To the fifth group belong all those who gained entrance into the vestibule, i.e., those who have already investigated the principles of faith or who have mastered the physical sciences. Only those enter into the King's chamber and behold His presence who have mastered the science of metaphysics. Reason thus becomes the bond of union between man and God. Through its acquisition man comes under the care of Divine providence.

IV—The Opposition

While Maimonides' view reappears in Gersonides and in numerous other thinkers of the Synagogue, it also called forth sharp protests from men of influence. R. Shem Tob comments on the fifty-first chapter of the third part of the *Guide* to this effect: "Many rabbinical scholars declare that the Master did not write this chapter, and if he did, it must be hidden, or, more fittingly, burned; for how

could he have placed those who know natural things in a higher rank than those who occupy themselves with religion, and, especially, how dared he declare them to be in the inner court of the King? If so, then the philosophers who concern themselves with science and with metaphysics rank above those who devote themselves to the Torah." Quite naturally, some leaders of Judaism apprehended the danger of rationalizing religion. Reliance upon syllogistic reasoning inevitably leads to the depreciation of all other truths.[62] Religion, by becoming subservient to philosophy, is shorn of its distinction and power. Some philosophers, both before and after Maimonides, were, therefore, content to use reason as the mere handmaid of revelation. Thus Baḥia ibn Pakuda (first half of the eleventh century) recognized reason together with Scripture and Tradition as sources of religious truth. Its exercise constitutes, in his view, one of the "duties of the heart," which man owes his Maker. However, its office consists primarily in confirming the data obtained through the two other channels.[63]

For Baḥia's contemporary, the neo-Platonic poet-philosopher, Solomon ibn Gabirol (b. 1022), reason loomed as the native element of man. Yet it is faith that leads him to salvation. In his masterpiece, *The Royal Crown*, a rapturous expression of his religious philosophy, he views the soul as drawn "from the fount of light" and its radiance as wrought "from the sphere of intelligence," imbued with the spirit of wisdom and endowed with the faculty of knowledge, so that "science is the very fount of her glory."

> My soul was precious in Thy sight,
> Nor didst Thou send me empty away.
> But all this didst Thou yet exceed and add to,

When Thou gavest me a perfect faith
To believe that Thou art the God of Truth,
And that Thy Law is true and Thy prophets are true.
For Thou hast not set my portion with the rebels and
those who rise up against Thee,
And the foolish multitude that blaspheme Thy name.[64]

The other oustanding poet-philosopher of the Synagogue, Jehuda Halevi (1085-1142), similarly glories in man's intellectual endowments. Speaking of the order of the middle prayers in the *'Amidah* (the central portion of all the three daily services), he writes: "It is proper that the first of the specific petitions be for reason and knowledge,[65] for it is through them that man endeavors to draw near unto his God. For this reason the prayer for understanding is placed directly before the one for repentance, that wisdom, knowledge and understanding be applied to Torah and to the service of God, as stated: 'Cause us to return, O our Father, unto Thy Law.' "[66] The object of wisdom is the mastery of the Torah. Unquestioning acceptance of the Torah is superior to philosophizing about it. The Torah represents the supreme manifestation of wisdom, with which only the Israelites were graced and unto which the Greeks failed to attain. Aristotle "belabored his reason and thought because he lacked a well authenticated tradition."[67]

The distinguished exegete Abraham ibn Ezra (1092-1167) considered reason as "the mediating angel between man and his God." "Wisdom of every kind," he writes, "gives life to its owner. There are many kinds of wisdom, and each kind is useful; they are like the steps of a ladder, leading upward to true wisdom. Happy they whose mental eyes are open, that they may in future approach the Lord and His goodness."[68] However, in addition to his reason and to his intuitive distinction between right

and wrong, man needs the guidance that came through God's direct communication to man in the form of the Torah. Commenting on the words, "the law of the Lord is perfect" (Psalm xix. 8), he writes: "David—after having described in the preceding verses how the wise man can find a proof for the existence of God, and how he can learn to understand God's works—adds that there is yet another evidence, which is much better and more trustworthy, viz., the Divine law, etc. It is called 'perfect,' because in its presence no other evidence is needed."[69]

Substantially the same position is taken by Joseph Albo (1380-1444). Defending the validity of human knowledge, he also recognizes its limitations. It is obtained not only through sense perception and syllogistic reasoning, but also through faith. By faith Albo understands "the mental representation of a thing in such manner as not to permit of its contradiction under any circumstance, even though the way in which to prove it is not known." In his view, faith corresponds to an axiomatic truth. In his judgment, faith applies to that which the believer himself has not perceived through his own senses, but which was perceived by some worthy person or persons some time in the past and has come down to him by direct tradition from father to son.[70] Such knowledge is indispensable for mankind. Inasmuch as human perfection depends upon the performance of deeds that are pleasing unto God, and as the human mind cannot—through investigation—discover what they are, the Higher Wisdom of necessity had to find another way by which to assist men in knowing what is acceptable and what is unacceptable to God. This way consists in endowing a chosen individual with the gift of prophecy. The knowledge which he miraculously obtains offers guidance to the rest of mankind.

Man's happiness thus becomes dependent upon the study of the Torah.[71]

Even this moderate position regarding the office of reason failed to satisfy the ultra-orthodox. They refused to compromise with any attempt at dragging the supernatural into the realm of the natural. Thus Rabbi Solomon ben Abraham ibn Adret of Montpellier—one of the chief opponents of the philosophical tendency in Judaism —was not content with the elimination of the fifty-first chapter of the third book of the *Guide of the Perplexed*. In his judgment, all the books written by the philosophers "should be burned in the public place in their presence." In his notorious interdict of the study of the sciences by persons under twenty-five years of age—i.e., until they have so filled themselves with traditional lore that "they will not remove it from being queen"—he inveighs against those who study philosophy as enemies of religion.

> Truth [he cries], has stumbled in the streets, for some of them say that all that is written from the section of Bereshit (Genesis) as far as the giving of the Law (Exodus xx) is nothing more than allegory. . . . Indeed they show that they have no faith in the plain meaning of the commandments; they inscribe on their hearts and on the walls of their altars that they have no portion in the God of Israel, nor in the Torah which their fathers had received on Sinai. They are more estranged than the Gentiles; for the latter fulfill some of the commandments in the proper form, while they (may they have no remnant in the land!) strongly desire to uproot all. The chief reason of all this is because they are infatuated with alien sciences, Zidonians and Moabitish,[72] and pay homage to the Greek books. . . . Now a boy born upon the knees of natural science, who sees

> Aristotle's sevenfold proofs concerning it, really believes in it, and denies the Chief Cause; if we refute him, he becomes all the more impious. They only read the Law, but their heart is not right inwardly, and they pervert it seven ways. For thus says one of their sages, who is esteemed as the chief of the heads of their sects: "It is good that the study of the Law should be combined with secular sciences; it is a good thing, but without the wisdom of the Greeks a man is called *a wild ass used to the wilderness.* They that study the Law, what manner of wisdom is in them? for they themselves are but as beasts."[73]

With the aid of the Dominicans, Rabbi Solomon succeeded in putting the torch to Maimonides' philosophical writings (1236). The issue was clear. Rabbi Solomon's "fundamentalism" is still expressive of the ultra-orthodox viewpoint, which finds in Scripture, as interpreted by Talmudic tradition, the only authoritative source of religious knowledge. Not reason but faith in God and in His revelation at Sinai leads man to salvation. This tendency is still not without adherents in Judaism. However, the stars in their courses are fighting against it. Modern Orthodoxy itself has allied itself with the side of reason.[74] Whereas the ever-growing wing of Liberal Judaism may be considered an outgrowth of the philosophical tendencies in Judaism.

V—Conclusion

The continued emphasis on the priority of reason in religion has secured a firm place for science—whether in the form of Aristotelian or Darwinian thought—in Jewish life. Viewing all truth as the signet of God, the foremost representatives of Judaism of every generation welcomed all new revelations of truth. They have thereby

removed faith from the realm of the mysterious that is inaccessible to reason. Nor have they permitted it to become authoritative in its own name. Not prized in itself, its value depends upon its contents. Not a mere matter of intellectual assent or resignation, it must function as an active spring of ethical conduct. Faith is incomplete until it is manifested as reasonable and as leading to loving obedience to the Divine will, as understood with the aid of the mind and conscience of man. In the words of C. G. Montefiore:

> Faith means that intellectual assent assimilated and made one with our character. Faith means that we not only believe, but care for, and feel, that which we believe. Faith means that this caring active belief which is, and has become, a part of character, keeps translating itself into deeds. Faith affects the will; and through the will it produces action. In this sense right faith is clearly of enormous importance, for if there be a unity in the world, and if the good God be the world's ruler, from faith must issue right deeds. The purer and the better, the nobler and the truer, our faith in God is, the better and the nobler (given an equal *intensity* of faith) must be the deeds which faith begets.[75]
>
> Faith concerns the reason as well as the feelings and the will. . . . The present conception of God has been won by reason as well as by love. Ignorance can never be a good, whether in religion or in anything else.[76]

We are old that the unguarded use of the X-ray may render the operator sterile. Frequently the employment of reason in the service of religion may exert a similarly disastrous effect upon us spiritually. Judaism claims the power of our minds to purify its doctrines, and practices,

but it claims much more besides. It also demands reverence, humility, self-effacement, and love. Its great command is not only "hear" and "know," but also: "Thou shalt love the Lord God with all thy heart, will all thy soul and with all thy might. And these words which I command thee this day shall be upon thy heart. . . . To the end that ye may remember and do all my commandments and be holy unto your God."

Faith, though forming the life breath of religion, must be strengthened by reason. By itself it may degenerate into credulity, fanaticism, and blindness. Checked and guided by reason it grows into the strongest lever of human progress. The harmonization of the two represents the most difficult task of life. Nevertheless it can and must be accomplished. Peace must reign between the emotions and the intellect. The heart and mind must work in the same direction. Both are the stamps of divinity upon man. Like the two wings of the bird, both are essential to ascent unto the heights.

Chapter III

PRINCIPLES OF JUDAISM

The emphasis which Judaism has laid upon the cognitive element of faith has naturally called for the crystallization of the contents of faith. It is the glory of human reason to search out and to understand. Far from resigning itself to the dusk fringes of consciousness, it reaches out toward the dazzling radiance of Divine truth. It ever turns its searchlight upon itself, probing its most cherished convictions, and continuously analyzing, defining, and evaluating its beliefs. To this inner urge for clearness and definiteness, man owes his creed-building interest. He invokes his will to know to give reassuring satisfaction to his will to believe.

I—Has Judaism Dogmas?

Though inseparable from the philosophical development of Judaism, the creedal aspect has met with considerable suspicion and opposition. The Jewish fear of creeds or dogmas is part of the general pseudo-liberalism which obtains in the Church and in the Synagogue alike. In part, it grows out of the overzeal of bigots who place dogma above charity, creed above humanity, and ceremony above the spirit that called it into life, thereby forging fetters for the human soul instead of supplying it with wings. It also thrives on the pseudo-intellectualism exemplified by Dorian Gray, who is pictured as never having fallen "into the error of arresting his intellectual development by formal acceptance of creed or system."

This dread of dogmas on the part of some Jewish people is generally associated with the name of Moses Mendelssohn (1729-1786). In his desire to rehabilitate Judaism in the eyes of the thinking world, he endeavored to present it as a religion based purely on reason and removed from all dogmatism. To the Deistic philosophers of his day dogmatism appeared as the height of mental depravity and the root of all intolerance. Taking the position that Judaism is not a *revealed religion*, in the ordinary acceptation of the term, but a *divinely revealed legislation*, he holds that Judaism seeks to regulate the deeds of man rather than his beliefs.

> Among all precepts and ordinances of the Mosaic Law [he writes], not one reads: "Thou shalt believe," or "Thou shalt not believe," but all enjoin: "Thou shalt do, or not do." Belief is not commanded, for it is subject to no other commands save those that lead to it by way of conviction. All the commands of the Divine Law aim at the will, at the energy of man. Indeed the Hebrew word that is commonly translated "faith" signifies in most instances trust, confidence, hopeful assurance in a pledge and promise[1]. . . . Wherever the reference is to eternal verities founded on reason, the expression is not "believe," but "understand" and "know"[2] . . . Nowhere is it said: "Believe, O Israel, that thou mayest be blessed; doubt not, O Israel, or this and that penalty will befall you." Command and prohibition, reward and punishment are only for actions, for doing and neglecting the things that are within man's choice and that revolve upon the conception of good and evil and upon hope and fear. . .
>
> Hence Judaism has no symbolical books, no articles of faith. No one is asked to confirm by oath

> either symbols or articles of faith; indeed, we have no conception of that which is called oaths of confession and must regard them, in the spirit of genuine Judaism, as untenable.[3]

In other words, for Mendelssohn "the spirit of Judaism is freedom in doctrine and conformity in action."

These views, growing out of Mendelssohn's desire to present Judaism as a religion of tolerance and of freedom, show only one phase of the truth. While, for the most part, Judaism has forged no *Glaubens-Fesseln* (creedal fetters) it has not dispensed with *Glaube* (creed). Mendelssohn himself held that "Religion knows of no action without conviction, of no work without spirit, of no accord in deed without accord in thought. Religious acts without religious ideas are an empty puppet-show, not divine service."[4] Elsewhere he admitted that Judaism has dogmas, claiming only that they are in greater harmony with reason than those of other religions. In a text book which he published for children he went so far as to include the Thirteen Articles of Maimonides, only substituting for the introductory formula "I believe" the phrase "I am convinced."[5]

Despite these considerations, the "dogma of dogmalessness," as Professor Schechter aptly remarks, "has been accepted by the majority of Jewish theologians as the only dogma Judaism possesses." Moreover, while Mendelssohn objected to the formulation of the dogmas of Judaism on the ground that all of its precepts "are fundamental for us,"[6] his authority has been invoked for the purpose of dismissing all precepts as well as dogmas as inconsequential. The cry, "Deed not Creed," raised in many quarters, ignores the elementary truth that without religious convictions, beliefs, or creed there can be no religious deeds. Only the crassest materialism can overlook the effect of

mind upon body or of ideas upon conduct. To be sure, our acts are in large measure determined by emotional states and subconscious factors of which we have not the slightest knowledge, but they are also influenced by certain mental attitudes and opinions. In practical life we judge our fellow men not only by their actions but also by the motives that prompt them. The harmony of conviction with conduct presents the chief aim of all character-building. As a *Welt-und-lebens-Anschauung*, each religion possesses distinctive tenets or beliefs. These are its "everlasting yeas" whereby it seeks to direct both the thoughts and deeds of its followers. So to define them as to shape human conduct amounts to formulating a creed or system of dogmas.

The term "dogma" has come into the English language from the Greek. It is derived from the verb *dokeo* (to think) and expresses, in the first instance, the idea of "opinion" and approximates our conception of "doctrine." It is accordingly used in the sense of any settled opinion, conviction, or accepted principle. As understood by the Church it represents "a statement of religious faith or duty formulated by a body possessing or claiming authority to decree or decide."[7] Upon the correctness of its confession man's salvation depends.

Judaism, it must be admitted, possesses no beliefs whose binding character is derived solely from the circumstance that they were decreed by an authoritative body, and which must be professed in order to secure future bliss. A man's profession of faith constitutes no voucher for its reality. His deeds must attest to that. Furthermore, proselytes aside, Jews are not made, they are born. By birth they become sharers in the Jewish religious heritage. These considerations notwithstanding, the claim that Judaism, like all positive religions, possesses a body of

dogmatic principles is validated by history and experience.

Hebrew literature covers the concept "dogma" by the term *Iḳḳar*. It appears in the Bible in the non-technical sense of "offshoot"[8] and "root" or "stock."[9] Rabbinic usage employs *Iḳḳar* in contradistinction to *Ṭafel* (non-essential) and identifies the *Iḳḳar* (the root principle of religion) with God.[10] It was in mediaeval Jewish philosophy that the term *Iḳḳar* gradually acquired its technical character of "dogma." According to Professor David Neumark, Ibn Daud was the first to employ it in this sense. At least this is the impression produced by the Hebrew translation of his *Emunah Ramah*.[11] There it is employed as synonym of *Shoresh*.[12] Maimonides preceded the Hebrew translator of the *Emunah Ramah* in using, in his Mishna Commentary, the Arabic *Azala*, which is the equivalent of the Hebrew *Iḳḳar*, as a "leading principle." In his *Code*, which was written in Hebrew, he uses *Iḳḳar* in the technical sense.[13] It is so used by the translator of Maimonides' essay on the dogmas of Judaism.[14] However, in his writings—including his letters—he employs *Yesod* (foundation), *Pinnah* (corner), *Iḳḳar*, and *Shoresh* rather indiscriminately. It is especially due to Joseph Albo that the word *Iḳḳar* has acquired the distinct meaning of dogma.[15]

As the survey of the term *Iḳḳar* and of its synonyms indicates, dogma or creed appeared to the Jewish people free from all mystic connotations, as a "first principle" or religious postulate. In Albo's words: "The term *Iḳḳar* applies to that which serves as the basis and support for other things, even as the root is that upon which the existence of the tree depends and without which the existence of the tree cannot be imagined."[16]

A creed is nothing more than the expression of our attitude to reality. It pictures in words our mental vision of God, the soul, and their interrelation. It presents in external form the beliefs that we cherish in our hearts so that all who run may read and understand. And while for all else our formulas of belief are matters of speculative interest only, for us they are the fountain spring of intellectual life, spiritual idealism, and moral conduct. The creed of the Synagogue also serves as the instrument of Jewish union. It represents the expression of the religious life by means of which the individual shares in the spiritual experience of the Jewish people.

II—Evolution of Dogma in Judaism

As the term *Iḳḳar*, so its underlying concept did not assume its commanding position in Jewish theology before Maimonides. However, it was implicit in the idea of Judaism from its very beginning, and thereby distinguished it from the religions of the ancient world.

"The antique religions," writes W. Robertson Smith, "had for the most part no creed; they consisted entirely of institutions and practices." While the practices were rigorously fixed, the meanings attached to them were vague, varied, and sometimes contradictory. The explanations of the rites were rooted not in dogmas but in myths or stories setting forth the account of the origin of the ceremonies. These possessed no binding force on the worshippers, but served merely as aids to sustain interest in the worship. "A choice of several accounts of the same thing" was often presented to the worshipper, "and provided that he fulfilled the ritual with accuracy, no one cared what he believed about its origin. Belief in a certain series of myths was neither obligatory as a part of true religion, nor was it supposed that, by believing, a man

acquired religious merit and conciliated the favor of the gods. What was obligatory or meritorious was the exact performance of certain sacred acts prescribed by religious tradition."[17]

With the appearance of Jahwism a revolution was affected in the religious life of the world. As a covenant God, Jehweh claimed the exclusive loyalty of His followers. Each stage in the history of Israel tended to emphasize the bond that united the people with their God. The terms of the little Code of the Covenant and of the Ten Commandments, as well as those of the larger Code of the Covenant, of Deuteronomy, and of the Priestly Code, grew out of the root principle that Jahweh is Israel's God, and Israel Jahweh's people; that He alone and no other god is to be worshipped.

On the basis of this conception and in keeping with the inwardness of their religious experience, the prophets reversed the respective places assigned to ritual and belief in ancient religious life. Belief was to be the all-in-all; ritual, but the expression of the belief. Hence their emphasis on *Daat Elohim* (Knowledge of God)[18] and on what God demands of man.[19] Each new belief is the product of historical circumstances and can be best understood in their light. Gradually an elaborate body of beliefs or dogmas was formed, which constitutes the basis of our Bible.

In the form in which it has come down to us, the Bible unmistakably exhibits a body of well-defined religious principles or dogmas. The Pentateuch, in particular, has figured as a dogmatic document of the first order. Its words had to be accepted literally and in every detail as infallible guides of moral and religious living. It opens with the declaration of the existence of *One God*, who *created* heaven and earth and who fashioned *man in His own image*. It proceeds to vision Him as the *ruler* of the

universe and of humanity, who *rewards* man for good deeds and *punishes* him for his evil conduct. It sets forth the belief in the *selection of Abraham and of his seed* to bear blessing unto all mankind and in the *revelation of God unto Israel at Mt. Sinai and to Israel's prophets.* His revealed will calls for moral deeds, also for certain ceremonial institutions, such as *circumcision*, the *Sabbath* and the *festivals*, the establishment of a *central sanctuary*, a *priesthood* and *sacrificial worship.* The *Divine origin of the Torah* is announced in Deuteronomy. The books of the two other orders of the canon rest on the same creedal foundations. Exhibiting Persian influence, some of them stress the existence of *angels* as intermediaries between God and man. The apocalypses of Isaiah (xxiv-xxvii) and Daniel express the belief in the *resurrection* of the body and of a *future judgment.* The advent of the *Messiah*, too, is foreshadowed in the late strata of the Bible.

These dogmatic elements came to play an ever greater role in Jewish thought, as is evidenced in the Apocrypha and the Pseudo-epigrapha and in Talmudic literature. They were sharpened by the contact of Judaism with Hellenism. Trained in Grecian dialectics, Jewish thinkers in Alexandria were prompted to reinterpret the truths of Judaism in systematic form and to free their faith from certain intellectual difficulties. Accordingly the Septuagint guards the spirituality of God against anthropomorphic and anthropopathic expressions. The Wisdom of Solomon stresses the immortality of the soul as distinct from the resurrection of the body. Philo proceeds further in his ingenious harmonization of Plato and the Torah by presenting the first statement of the principles of Judaism. He concludes his treatise on the *Creation of the World* with the declaration that he who "has impressed on his own soul these marvelous facts which are the subject of

so much contention—namely, that God has a being and existence, and that He who so exists is really one, and that He has created the world, and that He has created it one as has been stated, having made it like Himself in simpleness; and that He exercises a continual care for that which He has created—will live a happy and blessed life, stamped with the doctrines of piety and holiness."[20] In his *Life of Moses*, Philo expressed the belief that the Temple of Jerusalem is the shrine of the universe, and considered the day to be near when all nations would go unto it to worship the One God.[21] He also finds all the duties of man to God and to his fellow men summarized in the Decalogue.[22]

A succinct epitome of Jewish belief is given by Josephus in his defense of Judaism against the slanders of Apion:

> The first command is concerning God, and affirms that *God contains all things*, and is a being every way perfect and happy, self-sufficient, and supplying all other beings; the beginning, the middle, and the end of all things. He is manifest in His works and benefits, and more conspicuous than any other being whatsoever; but as to His form and magnitude, He is most obscure. [*He created the world*] not with labor, nor as wanting the assistance of any to coöperate with Him; but as His will resolved they should be made and be good also, they were made, and became good immediately. *All men ought to follow this Being, and to worship Him in the exercise of virtue.* . . . There ought also to be but *one temple for one God.* [In offering sacrifices to Him] we ought, in the first place to pray for the common welfare of all, and after that our own. . . . And let our prayers and supplications be made humbly to God. [The law has further] appointed several purifications at our sacrifices.[23]

> [After enumerating in detail the laws of Judaism, Josephus concludes:] The *reward* for such as live exactly according to the laws, is not silver or gold; it is not a garland of olive branches or of smallage, nor any such public sign of commendation; but *every good man hath his own conscience bearing witness to himself;* and by virtue of our legislator's prophetic spirit, and of the firm security God Himself affords such an one, he believes that God hath made this grant to those that observe these laws, even though they be obliged readily to die for them, that *they shall come into being again*, and at a certain revolution of things receive a better life than they had enjoyed before.[24]

Philo's remark that the principles of Judaism form the subject of much contention is amply corroborated by the extant evidence concerning the Jewish sects. The Samaritans were the first to break away from the body of Jewry. Their differences were at first racial and political, but ultimately became dogmatic. "When shall we receive them back?" ask the Rabbis. "When they shall renounce Mount Gerizim and acknowledge Jerusalem and the resurrection of the dead."[25] Their creed reads: "We say: My faith is in Thee, YHVH; and in Moses son of Amram, Thy servant; and in the Holy Law; and in Mt. Gerizim-Beth-El; and in the Day of Vengeance and Recompense."[26] While the first two are identical with the cardinal principles of Judaism, the third and fourth offer points of departure. When the Samaritans confessed the Holy Law they limited it to the Pentateuch, whereas the Jewish Canon included the Prophets and the Hagiographa as well. The fourth article represents the chief point of difference. In the light of the Rabbinic statement, the last article appears to be a late addition to Samaritan theology.

Likewise the Essenes, Pharisees and Sadducees were divided on such religious principles as Torah, tradition, providence, freedom of the will and the destiny of the soul in the hereafter.[27] Aiming against the various sectaries and principally the Gnostics, who, through their speculations, undermined the foundations of Judaism, the Rabbis formulated their first declaration of principles. "All Israelites have a portion in the world to come[28] . . . . But the following have no portion in the world to come: he who claims that resurrection is not taught in the Torah, he who denies the Torah's divine origin and the Epicurean."[29] In line with this Mishnah—which became the basis of the subsequent formulations of the creeds of Judaism—are the words of R. Eleazar the Modiite: "He who profanes holy things and despises the festivals (and shames his comrade in public)[30] and annuls the covenant of Abraham our father and misinterprets the sense of the Torah (literally 'who uncovers the face of the Torah,' i.e., not in harmony with the Halacha) even though he possesses Torah and good deeds, he has no portion in the world to come."[31] The *Birkat Haminim*—the formula for the detection of sectaries, and especially Judeo-Christians—which was embodied into the 'Amidah further aimed at freeing the Jewish community from heresies. As indicated in these Mishnaic statements, heresy refers to both doctrinal belief and to religious practice. The Epicureans are excluded from future bliss because of their false belief. Josephus informs us they are "in a state of error," they "cast providence out of life, and do not believe that God takes care of the affairs of the world, nor that the universe is governed by a being who outlives all things in everlasting sufficiency and bliss, but declare it to be self-sustaining and void of a ruler and protector . . . like a ship without a helmsman and like a chariot without a driver."[32] The

Rabbis considered the atheist as a *Kofer b'iḳḳar*[33] (denier of the root principle of Judaism). Similarly he who withdraws himself from the Jewish community is held as "a denier of the root."[34] In either case he does not cease to be a Jew; for "even though he has sinned he remains an Israelite."[35]

Beneath these negative statements we discern the positive principles of faith and the standards of conduct which the Rabbis deemed essential to Judaism. That the Rabbis emphasized the need of intellectual assent is clear from the following statements: "Who is a Jew?" they asked; and replied, "He who abjures idolatry."[36] Also: "He who denies idolatry is as if he confessed the entire Torah."[37] And more positively: "He is called a Jew, who professes the Unity of God."[38] To the heathen who desired to learn the whole Torah while standing on one foot, Hillel recommended the Golden Rule: "What is hateful unto thee do unto no man; the rest of the Torah is but a commentary thereon; go thou and study it."[39] Rabbi 'Akiba regarded the commandment, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself,"[40] a leading principle of the Torah. His contemporary Ben 'Azzai held that still greater is the principle expressed in the following verse: "This is the book of the generations of Adam. In the day that God created man, in the likeness of God made He him."[41] A similar attempt at reducing Judaism to a unitary principle is found in the Talmudic homily, which bases the three hundred sixty-five negative commands and the two hundred forty-eight positive precepts of the Torah upon Habakkuk's statement: "The righteous shall live by his faith."[42] The observance of the Sabbath is considered by some as outweighing all the commandments. Similarly the law concerning *Ẓiẓit* (fringes upon the garments) was held to be all important, because seeing them led to remembering all

of God's commands which the upright Jew must observe.[43] Furthermore, salvation could be secured by the proper performance of a single commandment.[44] The opinion was shared generally that under the hazard of persecution all commandments may be temporarily neglected, with the exception of the prohibitions of idolatry, incest, and murder. These the Jew was expected to observe even at the cost of life.[45]

The dogmatic elements of the Bible as interpreted by the Rabbis are embodied into the official liturgy of the Synagogue. During Temple times the central feature of the service consisted of the Decalogue and the Shema (Deuteronomy vi. 4-9; xi. 13-21; Numbers xv. 37-41).[46] In order not to give the heretics the opportunity of saying that the Ten Commandments alone were given to Moses at Sinai, their recitation was discontinued in the reorganized service of the Synagogue. The Shema was deemed more appropriate as a confession of faith. In it the Rabbis found the epitome not of the Decalogue alone but also of the entire Law.[47] Its affirmation of the Divine Unity appeals to the mind, the call to love God stirs the emotions, and the monition to keep His commandments rouses the will. It is preceded by the declaration that God is the creator of the world (*Yozer Or*) and the giver of the Law (*Ahabah Rabbah*) and is followed by a solemn avowal of the worshipper's conviction in its imperishable truths ("*Emet V'yazib*").[48] As the Shema, so the *Tefilah* (Prayer) or *'Amidah*, (*the Eighteen Benedictions*) sounds the cardinal beliefs of Judaism as well as the chief needs of the individual soul and of the Jewish people. They dwell upon God's revelation in the history of Israel ("God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob"), in the acts of retribution ("Who rewards loving kindness"), and in the attributes of might ("Quickening the living and the dead") and of

holiness. Stress is laid further upon the grace of God as shown in bestowing knowledge upon man, in receiving the penitent sinners, in healing the sick, and in providing the needs of all the living. God's aid is then invoked to ingather the dispersed of Israel and to restore Jerusalem, the Davidic dynasty, and the Temple with its sacrificial cult. The *'Alenu* (Adoration), a somewhat later addition to the daily service, strikes the climax of Jewish aspiration, in looking forward to the day when God's Kingdom shall be established upon earth, and when all men shall abandon idolatry and wickedness and unite in worshipping Him alone.

III—Systematic Creeds

These principles as evolved in the course of many ages and embodied into the daily prayers grew to be part of the Jewish consciousness. Their formulation into a *systematic creed* was stimulated by the rise of Mohammedanism on the one hand and by the appearance of Karaism on the other. Speculative Muslim theology (known as the *Kalam*), and especially its criticism of the anthropomorphisms of the Bible, made its way into Judaism through the Karaites. Having denied the validity of Rabbinical tradition and method of Biblical interpretation, they were compelled to evolve their own standards. One of them, Nisi b. Noah, grouped all Pentateuchal laws around the Decalogue.[49] This method was followed also by their distinguished thinker Judah b. Elijah Hadassi in his *Summa Theologiae: Eshkol ha-Kofer* (Cluster of Myrrh), written in 1148. Dominated by Mutazilite influence and well versed in secular science, philosophy, and dogmatic theology, he was the first Karaite to formulate articles of faith. This he accomplished twenty years before Maimonides completed his commentary on the Mishnah, which

contains his famous essay on dogma. Hadassi enumerates these ten articles—to correspond with the Decalogue—which every true believer must profess: (1) Unity of the Creator; (2) His Eternity and distinctness from all other things; (3) the world is created; (4) God sent Moses and the prophets; (5) His message is embodied in the Torah, which is all complete, and, therefore, stands in no need of being supplemented by oral teachings; (6) the Torah must be understood in its original Hebrew tongue; (7) the sanctuary is the true place where God's glory dwells; (8) the dead will resurrect; (9) there will be a Divine judgment for all; (10) reward awaits the good, and punishment the wicked.[50]

The dissenting views of the Karaites offered a strong challenge to Rabbinical Judaism. Its exponents as shown in the preceding lecture, felt themselves called upon to justify their inherited beliefs and practices. Accordingly Saadia Gaon brought his philosophic reasoning to the aid of Rabbinical Judaism in his anlysis of its nine principles: *creatio ex nihilo*, the unity of God, prophecy, freedom of the will, merit and guilt (retribution in this world), the soul and its destiny, the resurrection, the redemption of Israel, immortality (retribution in the hereafter). He also probed the foundations of the ceremonial law. Displaying Christian and Mutazilite influence, he deviated from the Talmudic unity of commandments and distinguished between the *moral* commandments that are dictated by reason and the *ritual* commandments that derive their binding character from revelation.[51] With slight modifications, Saadia's formulation of the essentials of Judaism was adopted by Baḥia ibn-Pakuda.

A different attitude toward Judaism was taken by Jehudah Halevi. In his *Kusari* he introduces the representatives of philosophy and of the three religions: Chris-

tianity, Islam, and Judaism. Unlike the others, the Jewish representative seeks to establish his faith on ethico-historical rather than upon philosophical foundations: "We believe in the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, who brought the children of Israel out of Egypt amid signs and wonders and trials, who sustained them in the desert, gave them possession of Canaan, after leading them miraculously through the Sea and the Jordan, and who sent unto us Moses and His Torah and many other prophets after him to urge the observance of His Torah, promising good reward unto those that keep it and dire punishment unto those that transgress it. And we believe all that is written in the Torah." Judaism is rooted in the unique experience of the Jewish people. Its God conception is derived from *ethico-historical experience* rather than from cosmology. God revealed Himself first unto the people as Deliverer and Law-giver, and only subsequently as Creator.[52] In his poetico-mystical view, the Torah is a continuation of the action of creation; for its observance on the part of the Jewish people produces the *fifth kingdom* of nature, Israel the prophet people. The Sabbath and Circumcision rank in his view as *practical dogmas*. Guarding against Christian and Mohammedan views, he takes care to deny religious value to the ceremonial *act in itself*. Thus he faithfully adheres to the Biblical conceptions of both the Sabbath and the Circumcision as *signs* between God and Israel.[53] Accordingly, while following Saadia's and Baḥia's division of the Commandments into *ethical* and *ceremonial*, he differs from them in their respective valuation. For Halevi the ethical commandments serve as pedagogical means in leading humanity to the recognition of the import of the ceremonial commandments. The stress that he lays upon tradition grew out of his opposition to the Karaites,[54] while his emphasis upon

the personality of Moses resulted from his polemic against Christianity and Islam.

The first of the mediaeval Jewish philosophers to enumerate the dogmas of Judaism was Abraham ibn-Daud. By the side of the metaphysical principles, such as (1) the necessary existence of God, (2) the unity of God, and (3) the removal of positive attributes from God, he places the beliefs in (4) angels, in (5) divine origin of the written and oral Torah, the supremacy of Moses as prophet and the eternity of the Torah, and in (6) providence through the mediacy of angels on the principles of retribution and founded on freedom of the will.

IV—The Maimonidean Creed

It was left to Maimonides to supply the Synagogue with a clearly defined creed. In his Commentary on the Mishnah, he devoted the introductory essay on the tenth[55] chapter of Sanhedrin (*Perek Ḥelek*) to the discussion of the Jewish articles of faith.[56]

Endeavoring to provide every Jew with a clear statement of the beliefs which he must hold in order to form part of "the general body of Israel" (*Klal Yisrael*), he first criticizes five different classes of people who hold erroneous notions of retribution. The true Jew must follow the Torah for its own sake rather than because of any expectations of reward or of fear of punishment. The idea of retribution is but a pedagogical device to lead men, even as children are led, to the attainment of knowledge and perfection, to train them to do good and to become servants of God, out of love. Right conduct and right belief should, therefore, be striven after by man, not because of their emoluments in the hereafter, but rather because they are parts of his humanity, whereby he differs from the brute: "And when a man arrives at the point of being

perfect he belongs to that order of man whom no obstacle hinders from making the intellectual element in his soul live on after death."[57] This is "the world to come." It is synonymous with the highes state of the soul of the self-perfected man.

From his consideration of the higher nature of Judaism, Maimonides turns to the enumeration of its dogmas. As Judah Hadassi made the articles of the Karaitic Creed correspond to the number of commandments in the Decalogue, Maimonides took as his literary model the number thirteen from the enumeration of the attributes of God in Exodus xxxiv. 6-7. The first five deal with the conception of *God*, affirming His (1) existence, (2) unity, (3) incorporeality, (4) eternity, and (5) sole worthiness to receive the worship of men. The next four deal with *revelation*: (6) the reality of prophecy, (7) the absolute supremacy of Moses as prophet, (8) the divine origin of Israel's Torah, and (9) the immutability of this revealed Torah. The last four are concerned with *retribution*: (10) omniscient providence, (11) reward and punishment in this world and in the hereafter, (12) the coming of the Messiah (i.e., national retribution), and (13) the resurrection of the dead.[58]

Maimonides distinguished between the *philosophical* beliefs (1-6, 9-11) which can be established by reason and the *religious* dogmas (7-8, 12-13) which can be neither proved nor disproved by reason and must be accepted on faith and authority. To the latter, he applied the formula "this implies that we must believe." The Hebrew translator of this essay indiscriminately applied this formula to all the thirteen. And the anonymous editor who incorporated them into the liturgy prefaced each of them with the words, "I believe with perfect faith."

The Maimonidean Creed was intended not only to give

the Jew a concise statement of his beliefs but also to counteract the Christian and Mohammedan claims that Moses was eclipsed by either Jesus or Mohammed, that the Torah had been replaced by either the New Testament or the Koran and that the Messiah had already come. In answer to the charges of the Karaites that, through their interpretation, the Rabbis falsified the Torah, the eighth article affirms that "the whole Torah found in our hands this day is the Torah that was handed down by Moses."

Maimonides goes beyond his predecessors in stressing the importance of Moses. While avoiding the danger of raising him to the rank of divinity or of ascribing to him a special function in the process of creation, he assigns to him a unique position midway between man and angel, "who spoke to God face to face." He differs from ibn Daud in refusing to include the belief in angels among the dogmas of Judaism. He also differs from Saadia and Baḥia on the one hand and Halevi on the other with regard to the conception of the Pentateuchal commandments. Seeking to establish Judaism on reason, he refused to distinguish between rational and ceremonial laws. In his view they are all rational and all ethical.

The Maimonidean Creed was not a new creation of the author. It is based on Biblical and Talmudic materials and represents the natural outgrowth of Jewish philosophical tendencies. This accounts for its remarkable popularity among the Jewish people.

Professor Schechter remarks that "The impulse given by the great philosopher and still greater Jew was eagerly followed by succeeding generations, and Judaism thus came into possession of a dogmatic literature such as it never knew before Maimonides." His work became the center of this literature and led to the sharp division among

the Jewish people between the Maimunists and anti-Maimunists.

"Among the Maimunists we may probably include the great majority of Jews, who accepted the Thirteen Articles without further question. Maimonides must indeed have filled up a great gap in Jewish theology, a gap moreover, the existence of which was generally perceived. A century had hardly elapsed before the Thirteen Articles had become a theme for the poets of the Synagogue. And almost every country where Jews lived can show a poem or a prayer founded on these articles."[59] Eighty-eight such poems have been enumerated by Professor Alexander Marx. His investigation "shows how popular a topic the Creed has been for religious poetry from the thirteenth century to the last, and how poets of all countries, Italy, Spain and Provence, Algiers, Morocco, Turkey, Palestine, Persia, Yemen, and even India, as well as Germany and Holland, have tried their skill in this subject."[60] The finest and most popular example of versification of the Creed is presented in the *Yigdal*, which has been attributed to Daniel b. Judah Dayyan (14th century).[61] The *Yigdal* became the prototype of many poems on the creed. It also found its way into the prayerbook of the Sabbatarians of Hungary (drawn up by Pechi) and into their later hymnbooks. It was "incorporated, with trifling changes, into the hymnbook, which is still in use, of the Unitarian Church of Transylvania."[62] An English paraphrase by the Rev. Newton Mann has been used in Unitarian hymnals in this country.[63]

The versification of the creed for liturgical purposes, while enjoying popularity among the masses, met with opposition on the part of some leaders of the Synagogue. The distinguished ritual authority, R. Jacob Levi of Mölln (1365-1427), known as the *Maharil*, protested against

those who phrased the Divine Unity and the Thirteen Articles in rhyme and meter on the ground that the common people are misled into the belief that the recitation of these poems can take the place of the ceremonial obligations.[64]

V—Opposition to the Thirteen Articles

The Maimonidean Creed did not fail to meet with determined opposition. "This must not be misunderstood to mean," as Leopold Loew cautions us, "that the contents of the Maimonidean doctrines were contested by some dogmatists. This was not the case. The doctrines themselves met with no contradiction. The discussions concerning them bear a purely methodological character."[65] One group of his opponents, while recognizing that Judaism has dogmas, dissented from the Maimonidean way of formulating them.[66] Most prominent among them is Ḥasdai Crescas (1340-1410). At the outset of his critique, he confuses dogmas with specific Pentateuchal precepts, and proceeds to take issue with Maimonides for including the belief in the existence of God among the "affirmative precepts,"[67] arguing that whereas all precepts are dictated by some authority, there is no authority higher than God that can command belief in Him. The belief in the existence of God is axiomatic for every religion. Hence he calls it the "great root" (*ha-Shoresh ha-gadol*). He displays fine critical acumen in critizing Maimonides for confounding: (1) "fundamental principles" (*pinnot ha-Torah*), without which the Torah is inconceivable; (2) "true beliefs" (*emunot amitiyot*), which though rendering those that deny them heretics, are not indispensible; and (3) "*opinions*" (*deot* or *sebarot*), views growing out of tradition. Crescas holds that if Maimonides meant to count the "fundamental principles," he should have given

seven, and if he intended "true beliefs," he should have enumerated sixteen.

Next to the "great root," the belief in the existence of God, he places these "fundamental principles": divine omniscience, providence, omnipotence, prophecy, man's free will, purpose or teleology. In the second group he includes: (a) the "theoretical beliefs" of *creatio ex nihilo*, immortality, retribution, resurrection, eternity of the Torah, supremacy of the prophecy of Moses, the belief in the mediacy of the priestly oracle (*Urim V' tummim*), and of the advent of the Messiah; and (b) "practical dogmas": the belief in the efficacy of Prayer and of the benediction of the Aaronide priests, of repentance, of Yom Kippur, and of the four holy seasons of the Year (Rosh Hashanah, Pesah, Shabuot, and Sukkot).

His formulation of the principles of Judaism displays decided Christian and Mohammedan influence. This accounts for including repentance among the articles of faith, for stressing the importance of circumcision (corresponding to the doctrine of "infant baptism") and of the sacrifice of Isaac (corresponding to the doctrine of vicarious atonement of Jesus) and of "the priestly blessing as an *opus operatum* of the duly ordained priest, regardless of his mental and moral qualities."[68] His embodying of practical dogmas among the articles of faith is largely due to Christian influence. In his emphasis on the efficacy of the holy seasons, he imitates Islam.

Among the "opinions," growing out of tradition, he includes such beliefs as the eternity of the world, possibility of many worlds, astrological views, immortality of undeveloped children, Gehenna and Gan Eden, unknowability of the Divine essence, etc.

Like Crescas, so his disciple, Joseph Albo, was prompted by apologetic motives to reformulate the dogmatic content

of Judaism. In the long disputation with Hieronymus de Santa Fe (Joshua Lorki), Albo took a leading part. Following the futile disputation, he was urged to set forth his views on the principles of Judaism. This he did in his famous work *Iḳḳarim* (Roots) (1425). For him, as for his predecessors, the definition of Jewish dogmas serves a practical purpose, viz., the settlement of the questions: Who is a true Jew, and who is a heretic? His investigation led him to wholly different conclusions from those of Maimonides and Crescas. Conceiving religion as a living tree, he pictures each revealed religion as growing out of three "roots": God's existence, revelation and retribution. The special character of each religion manifests itself in the "stems" (*sharashim*) and in the "branches" (*'anafim*) that grew out of the "roots."[69]

The first "root," the existence of God, produces four "stems": unity, incorporeality, timelessness, and perfection. The second "root," revelation, has two stems: prophecy and the perfection of the prophet. The "root" of retribution, likewise, has two stems: divine ominscience and providence. In addition to these eleven dogmas there are six "branches" or beliefs, which, while not fundamental to Judaism, every Jew is expected to hold. If any Jew does not share any one of them he does not thereby become a heretic, but only a sinner. These beliefs are: *creatio ex nihilo*, superiority of Moses over all prophets, eternity of the Torah of Moses, possibility of attaining to human perfection through the proper observance of even one commandment,[70] resurrection, and the Messiah. With keen insight Albo recognized that the belief in the Messiah, while pivotal to Christianity, holds a subordinate place in Judaism. Hence its denial does not entail exclusion from future bliss. While he does not accord freedom of the

will a place among the articles of faith, he considers it essential to every form of religious life.

We pass over the views of Isaac 'Arama[71] and Joseph Ya'abetz[72], and conclude this phase of our study of the principles of Judaism with the second type of opposition to the Maimonidean Creed. Isaac Abravanel (1437-1508) devoted his *Rosh Amanah* (1495) to a defense of Maimonides against his critics. After vindicating the master's methodology, Abravanel himself spurns his theology. In Abravanel's judgment, the whole procedure on the part of Maimonides and particularly of Crescas and of Albo, of formulating dogmas or first principles from which to deduce the beliefs and practices of Judaism is foreign to its nature and was taken over from the philosophers and the scientists. The Torah as a revealed body of truth and legislation does not have to be deduced in any such manner. All of its precepts and doctrines came from the same Divine authority and are equally self-evident and valid. The consideration of one or the other as *Iḳḳar* (root, or essential) implies that others are *Ṭafel* (non-essential). In reality, the least comamndment must be considered even as the weightiest.[73] Accordingly, all the six hundred thirteen Pentateuchal precepts are "roots," inasmuch as they were all revealed by God. On the other hand, no articles of faith were expressly revealed by God unto the people.[74]

This view is shared by the representatives of legalism. Thus when R. David ben Zimra was asked which formulation of dogmas he accepted, that of Maimonides, Crescas or Albo, he replied: "I do not incline to set up any dogmas for the Torah, for it is all *iḳḳar* (essential). As our sages of blessed memory said, 'He who says that the whole Torah was revealed from heaven with the exception of this particular point or that analogy has despised the word of

God.'[75] Every precept, therefore, constitutes a 'root' and 'foundation.' How then can we say that this one is an *iḳḳar*, 'essential,' and the other 'non-essential'?"[76] It was largely on this basis that Moses Mendelssohn declared that Judaism is a divinely revealed legislation, rather than a religion based on an authoritative creed.

In justice to the representatives of philosophic Judaism we must say that at no time did Maimonides, Crescas, or Albo, when laying down the principles of faith, imply that the other beliefs derived from them did not matter, or that the *mizwot* or commandments of Judaism did not count. Actuated by the desire for clarity of thought in religion, they presented philosophic analyses of the guiding lines of Judaism, thereby seeking to secure greater consistency in their beliefs and to bring Judaism into harmony with the dominant philosophies and sciences of each age. Through their formulation of the dogmas or principles of Judaism, they further sought to offer a formidable defense against outside attacks and "to guard the Jewish faith from the intrusion of foreign beliefs upon the Jewish community."[77]

Chapter IV

REFORM JUDAISM

Judaism since the close of the Bible has run in three main channels. Its central course was *Halachic*, i.e., of unquestioned adherence to the various practices transmitted by former generations, a tendency which produced the lawbooks of the Bible, the Mishnah, and the Shulḥan Aruch. The Jewish spirit, however, was not confined within the channel of legalism. By the side of law, there was the stream of rationalism, which found expression in the philosophic works of Philo, Saadia, Gabirol, and others. The emotional side of religion manifested itself in the *Haggadah* and in the mysticism of the *Kabbalah*. None of these is entirely devoid of at least a tinge of the other. It has been the pride of Judaism that it combines the appeal to reason and the longing of the heart with the daily *Mizwot* or duties. As a matter of fact, these three tendencies have not often been at peace with one another. Legalism frequently waged war on mysticism and rationalism; the Kabbalah made little effort to conceal its impatience with law and with pure thought; philosophy, also, looked upon Kabbalah as a filmy vapor which must dissolve before the sun of enlightenment, and upon legalism as a dry system which is lifeless without the stimulus of reason. The upper hand in Judaism belonged to the representatives of the Halachah. Their attacks on the spirit of rationalism seriously hampered the progress of Judaism. They were no more successful in removing reason from

religion than they would have been in trying to tear out the brain from the head of a living man.

The Halachic and Kabbalistic tendencies are represented today by the various movements in Orthodoxy. The Kabbalistic traditions are carried on with special ardor by the followers of the saintly teacher Israel Baal Shem Tob (18th century), who are known as the *Ḥasidim* ("Pious"). The Reform Movement grew out of the intellectualistic tendency in Judaism. It came into being with the dawning consciousness that religion, as all other phenomena, is subject to the law of adaptation to life, that while some of its manifestations are primary, essential, and vital, others are secondary, non-essential, and even of passing importance; and that the dead branches must be pruned in order to promote the healthy growth of the tree of Judaism. The consequent revaluation of the ancestral faith affected not only its creedal foundations but also its practices, ritual, and ceremonies. Accordingly the revision to which Reform subjected both the Articles of Faith and Ceremonial Law marks a considerable departure from traditional Judaism.

I—Historical Development

The word "reform" summons varied lines of thought to the minds of different people. To conservatives, who are ever "cross at the agony of a new idea," it appears as the death-knell of the order of religion, social life, or politics to which they are chained by force of habit. Men and women who are temperamentally chronic radicals delight in reform because it bears the mark of novelty. Others face reform neither as a toy nor as a dreadful specter, but as a policy, which occasionally comes as a compelling necessity, of changing the old appearance of things for a new and more attractive one, and of substituting a living for

a dying social or religious order. No sane person will pull down a building just for the sheer delight of destruction; neither will any man, in his senses, refuse to repair or rebuild his house if its roof is torn, or its walls, doors, and windows are broken. In social and religious life, too, people, though clinging with all their might to inherited institutions and customs, sometimes find themselves compelled to renovate them in order to save them from decay.

A condition of this nature presented itself to the Jewish people in Western Europe toward the end of the eighteenth century, when the walls of the ghetto began to crumble. It is well known that almost throughout the Middle Ages the Jews were forced to live in separate quarters, which came to be known later as ghettos.[1] While this was the case also in Mohammedan Spain and Turkey, it is in Christian countries that the ghetto became a unique institution. In Italy, Bohemia, Moravia, Austria, Hungary, Germany, and Poland, the Jews were, as a rule, quarantined like lepers in separate sections of each city. These ghettos were organized at different times and under varied local conditions. They were preserved not only by the healthy desire on the part of the Jews to live together, but mainly by the intolerant and narrow church policy of treating all those out of her pale as inferior beings.

For centuries the ghetto constituted the "fatherland" of the Jew, offering him a friendly environment in the midst of a hostile world, a veritable oasis with laughing fountains and fruit-bearing trees in the midst of the barren wilderness. Every big city had such a little Jerusalem, where the Jew led his own, distinctly Jewish life, which appeared all the more charming because of the sickly atmosphere of the cramped surroundings. The Jews were permitted to have courts of their own with full jurisdiction in almost all save criminal cases. They maintained

elementary and high schools, where their sacred literature constituted the main subject of study. Living in seclusion, they developed their own dialects. In Teutonic countries, the German vernacular was tinged with Hebrew words and phrases and grew into Yiddish-Deutsch. This language—unjustly ridiculed by philistines as a contemptible "jargon," as if most languages are not "jargons"—was lovingly preserved among the *Ashkenazim* or German Jews even when, after their expulsion from their country, they settled in Poland. To this day Yiddish forms the medium of expression of more than seven million Jews.

The ghetto was by no means wholly covered with somber clouds. Often the sun shone upon it in full brilliance. Light and shade mingled in its many-sided life. Despite great odds entailing heavy sacrifices, the Jews cheerfully observed their religious regulations. Their souls were uplifted to their Maker on the Sabbaths and holidays. Young and old eagerly participated in the pleasures of the joyous seasons and occasions. There were indeed moments in the life of the ghetto Jew when, in the words of Heine, he was no longer bewitched into a dog, but stood erect as Prince Israel, God beloved. The morality of the people was very high. As the eyes of the whole community were upon each individual, the incentive to right living was strong. The author of the article "Ghetto" in the *Jewish Encyclopedia* writes that "the Bohemian chroniclers of the sixteenth century designate the ghetto of Prague as a 'rose garden,' " and add that "when the gates of the ghetto were closed at night there was not one woman inside whose reputation was in the least tarnished."

In most respects the ghetto formed a state within a state. Only it lacked the political defenses of a state. At any time bigots could make their way into the peaceful Jewish quarter, destroy the fruit of Jewish labor, and even

expel inhabitants from their "fatherland." No wonder that the Jews regarded themselves as living in *Galut*, in exile, and prayed for a speedy return to their historic fatherland, where they would again enjoy the blessings of peace, and worship God in freedom. The twelfth article in the Maimonidean Creed, which the Jew recited at the conclusion of his morning prayers, was more than a mere formula: "I believe with perfect faith in the coming of the Messiah, and, though he tarry, I will wait daily for his coming." Patiently the Jew waited for the hour upon which the *Shofar* of the Messiah would resound, proclaiming to him the good tidings of liberty from persecution and from the spirit of intolerance. The eyes of great numbers of our people grew dim, straining to look into the future, and often mistook a will-o-the-wisp for a shining star, in the deep darkness that enveloped them. Many a pretender to the Messiahship found ardent followers among the masses and was hailed as the long-expected Redeemer of the scattered tribes of Israel.[2]

Toward the middle of the eighteenth century the trumpet did resound, but it was not the *Shofar* of the Messiah. It was the French Revolution, sounding the message of freedom, equality, and fraternity. To the Jew no less than to the other members of the human family this message brought new life and new hope. In Germany as well as in France the spirit of liberalism found strong champions. Among these a place of eminence belongs to the famous dramatic poet Lessing, who combated anti-Jewish prejudice through his delightful comedy *Die Juden* and his masterpiece *Nathan der Weise*. Herder, too, must be singled out in the vast chorus of singers who heralded the dawn of religious toleration, which exerted a tremendous effect upon the life of the Jewish people.

The full significance of the spirit of liberalism and the

directions into which it was tending may be seen in the life-story of Moses Mendelssohn. Born under dark skies, this gifted son of Israel went to Berlin in pursuit of knowledge. There he won the friendship of Lessing and of other men of note, and gained universal recognition as a profound writer on aesthetics and philosophy. As a master of German style and as a devout Jew, he felt the need of translating the *Torah* (the Pentateuch) into pure German. The effect of this seemingly small service upon the cultural and religious life of the Jews assumed far-reaching proportions. On the one hand it promoted the study of Hebrew grammar, a subject hitherto neglected; and on the other hand it opened the door of German literature to those that were confined to the ghetto walls and to Talmudic learning. While some Orthodox leaders favored Mendelssohn's translation, the majority of rabbis opposed it as a revolutionary act which would strike at the heart of Jewry. They felt more keenly than their opponents that with the substitution of pure German for Yiddish-Deutsch the whole institution of the ghetto was endangered. Having no hope of erecting a palace, they naturally defended their hovel. They placed Mendelssohn's translation under the ban, but their opposition proved futile. The friends and followers of Mendelssohn devoted themselves to the task of remodeling the Jewish school system and of enlightening the masses. Regarding all the troubles from which the Jews suffered as the result of ignorance, they looked upon enlightenment as the chief remedy. They established modern schools in Berlin and Breslau, in Seesen, in Frankfort-on-the-Main, and in Wolfenbüttel, in Brody, and in Tarnopol, in Riga, in Odessa, and in Warsaw. They published periodicals for the dissemination of the new ideas, and extended the fron-

tiers of the *Haskalah*, or enlightenment movement, as far as Russia-Poland.[3]

Everywhere enlightenment held out the promise of political emancipation to the enthusiastic followers of Mendelssohn. With joy they hailed the Patent of Toleration of the humane Emperor Joseph II for the Jews of Lower Austria, which, in part, established the civic equality of his Jewish subjects. In France, the home of the Revolution, Count Mirabeau, Count Clermont Tannere, and the Abbé Gregoire championed the Jewish cause. The first-born child of the spirit of the French Revolution, the republican government of the United States of America, made the doctrine of equality of all men before the law without distinction of race or creed, the foundation of its constitution, thus guaranteeing also the rights of the Jews. When on September 27, 1791, the National Assembly enfranchised all the Jews of France, an Alsatian deputy significantly wrote to his constituents that Judaism in France thus became "nothing more than the name of a distinct religion." In other words, the political emancipation of Jewry demolished the whole institution of the ghetto as far as France was concerned. The Jews no longer formed a state within the state but became the equals of their Christian neighbors in citizenship.

The example of France stimulated the Jews of other lands in their struggle for equality. There were some men like the rabbis of Pressburg who considered the desire for political equality on the part of Jews as sinful and inconsistent with Israel's messianic hopes. For the Jewish people to have followed such teaching would have necessitated turning backward the wheels of the chariot of time. The spirit of the age demanded that the Jews range themselves on the side of progress.

The aspiration for political equality on the part of the

Jews in Germany involved: (1) a change of attitude toward the *Galut*, for as full German citizens, they could no longer consider themselves to be strangers, expecting to be delivered from bondage by a Messiah; (2) the removal of the ghetto, for as German citizens they could no longer continue to form a special Jewish state within the larger German Empire; and (3) the abandonment of Yiddish, for the children, drawn into the cultural and political currents of Germany, neither could nor would maintain a dialect of their own, particularly in view of its close resemblance to the language of the country.

The more unyielding the older generation was to these changes the stronger the feeling grew among the younger people that an insurmountable barrier separated Judaism from European culture. In their flight from "the four ells of the *Halachah*" large numbers lost their spiritual balance. Their own cultural heritage they wantonly exchanged for the tinsel of current civilization. Suppression and obliteration of their own individuality and slavish imitation of their neghbors became their goal in life. Furthermore, as the profession of the Jewish faith disqualified men from public office in many sections of Western Europe, Judaism became a burden and a misfortune to men who set their career above their honor. Without the strength of conviction that impelled the Jews of former ages to martyrdom for their faith, these men readily consented to be sprinkled with the waters of the baptismal font, to gain admittance into "society" or political life. Under these conditions a veritable conversionist epidemic broke out among the German Jews.

Far-seeing leaders beheld the danger signal. They recognized that, in order to save Judaism, the young generation had to be impressed with the truth that to be a German in culture and in politics was not inconsistent with being

a loyal Jew, that Judaism as a living faith must be distinguished from the forms in which it is expressed, and that the spirit of Judaism was still young and vigorous, capable of producing the richest spiritual fruitage. Their own Moses Mendelssohn served them as the best illustration of the possibility of uniting the best in European culture with Judaism. Mendelssohn also served them as an object-lesson. While, in his strength of character and deep Jewish devotion, he could observe all the details of the old law, his children failed to reach his high standard of religious conviction and fell away from Judaism altogether. What alienated them from their ancestral religion was not its noble spirit, striving after truth and holiness, but rather certain unattractive, and, in some instances, outlandish forms of the ceremonial practice, which for their father constituted part of the essence of Judaism. Thus Henrietta Herz (1764-1847) complains in her *Memoirs*,

> That which should have been able to make me bear up against those things that oppressed my mind in early youth, was not vouchsafed to me, i.e., the fundamental principles of religion. For, instruction along this line among the Jews of that time was even more faulty and deficient than it is at present. The young children, the girls especially, were actually taught nothing of the beliefs of their ancestors. None the less, they were *solemnly* enjoined to observe the forms, i.e., they had to observe the countless customs which the faith or rather the Rabbis had prescribed. The parents, themselves, who had been reared in this fashion, cast aside the irksome ceremonial observances of the Jewish traditional life, (which comprised the whole of religion) as soon as they became their own masters. Nothing replaced that which had been discarded. So they lived on without any thought of

> God—save, perhaps in hours of distress. No devotional feeling fills their souls. They cannot pray to God while their hearts are oppressed and anguished by endless pain.[4]

Similarly Lazarus Ben-David, the zealous adherent of Kant, found a wide gap between the pure teachings of Moses which are worthy of the Universal Father and the Judaism of his own day. Super-intellectuals, like Solomon Maimon, felt the gulf that separated their advanced conceptions from "the religious and moral errors of the common herd," upon whom they looked down "with a sort of lofty pride and high contempt."[5] It, therefore, became evident to men of vision that the only power that could stem the evil of apostasy and heal the wounds of Israel was, as Dr. Kaufmann Kohler expressed it, "the inner reform of Judaism which would again imbue the Jew with self-respect, while disclosing to him his historical mission in the world."[6]

With this aim in view, Israel Jacobson (1768-1828) established the first Reform service in connection with his school at Seesen and later at Cassel. Impressed with the success of his attempt, he built, at his own expense, the first Reform Temple at Seesen and dedicated it on July 17, 1810. He supplied his temple with an organ, introduced prayers in German, in addition to those recited in Hebrew, also German hymns, sung by the boys. In 1811 he confirmed the first class of Jewish boys. (A year previous, one boy had been confirmed at Cassel.) Political conditions compelled him to remove to Berlin in 1815. There he opened his home for weekly religious services, the chief feature of which was the sermon, preached in German. Among the preachers were Zunz, Kley, and Auerbach. The Orthodox elements denounced these services to the Government and succeeded in stopping all Re-

form activities in Berlin for some time. In the meanwhile Kley went to Hamburg, to supervise the Jewish Free School, where he organized a Reform society and erected the famous Hamburg Temple (1818). A special prayer-book was prepared for use in its services, which strove—as Geiger characterized it—"to re-establish the external conditions of devotion without clashing too much with current views on prayer, and to remove such passages as were in conflict with the civil position of the Jew." This prayer-book served as a model for all subsequent Reform rituals. The Orthodox Jews of Hamburg tried to repeat the work of their brethren in Berlin, but this time they failed. The temple remained open and steadily grew in influence under the leadership of Kley and his associate preacher Gotthold Salomon. In 1829 the Hamburg Temple established a branch at Leipsic, where services were held during the busy annual fairs, with Auerbach as preacher. The merchants from all parts of the world that visited these fairs became acquainted with the temple services and carried its spirit to their home cities. Soon Reform congregations sprang up in different parts of Germany, Austria and Hungary, France, Denmark, and England.

Though originating in Germany, it is in democratic America, where the congregations were new and, therefore, freer from antiquated usages, that Reform took deep root, and under the leadership of men like Isaac M. Wise, Max Lilienthal, Samuel Adler, Samuel Hirsch, David Einhorn, B. Felsenthal, S. K. Guttheim, Gustav Gottheil, I. S. Moses, Emil G. Hirsch, K. Kohler, and others, grew into greater power than in the old European communities. Reform congregations sprang up in almost all cities of the land. Religious schools and charitable institutions were established. The Union of American Hebrew Congregations was launched (1873) to unite the autonomous con-

gregations of the country for concerted religious effort. The Hebrew Union College was established in Cincinnati (1875) under the auspices of the Union, with Dr. Isaac M. Wise at its head, to train rabbis for American Jewish pulpits. Further to unite American Israel, the Reform rabbis of the country organized themselves into a Central Conference of American Rabbis (1890), that the counsel of all may be brought to bear upon the vexing questions that arise from year to year. The Central Conference has had as its object the removal of the tendency toward individualism in religious life, which came by way of reaction toward the severe suppression of all private judgment under Orthodoxy. This aim has, in a great measure, been achieved through the publication of the two volumes of the Union Prayerbook, which have helped to standardize the Sabbath and holiday worship in the synagogues throughout the land. The Central Conference of American Rabbis and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations have not only fostered Judaism in the hearts of our people, but have endeavored to present it in the right light before the non-Jewish world and thereby to form the right basis for mutual respect and coöperation.

In the temple at Vienna the famous Cantor Solomon Sulzer regenerated the old music of the synagogue. Out of the sighs and groans of long ages of martyrdom and out of the heart-throbs of countless generations, he constructed the soul-stirring songs of triumph of the new synagogue. He was followed by Naumbourg in Paris, by Weintraub and Lewandowski in Germany, by Stark in America, and by others on both sides of the Atlantic, who enriched the Jewish ritual with their glorious song. In the words of Gustav Karpeles, this "band of gifted men disengaged the old harps from the willows, and once more lured the ancient melodies from their quivering strings."[7]

II—Principles of Reform Judaism

The early Reformers limited their constructive work to the external side of Judaism. They firmly believed that it could be regenerated through the removal of the old abuses from the synagogues and through the modernization of its mode of worship. Gradually they came to the conviction that the whole structure of Judaism needed thorough renovation. Many petty regulations such as the prohibition of shaving, the requirement that women wear *Scheitels* (wigs), the institution of the *Mikvah* (ritual bath) as an adjunct of the synagogue, and customs like *Tashlich* (propitiatory rite based on the literal interpretation of Micah vii. 19b) and *Kapparot Schlagen* (substitution of a fowl for a human being as a means of atonement) had lost all religious meaning and appeared ludicrous. Many laws regulating family life, particularly in regard to marriage and divorce, grew increasingly burdensome. Judah Leon Gordon's Hebrew poems (*Kozo Shel Yud* and *Shomeret Yabam*) and Zangwill's *Children of the Ghetto* present some of the tragic consequences of the outworn marriage and divorce laws. The increased social contacts with non-Jews frequently led to the disregard of the Jewish dietary regulations. The rules of Sabbath and holiday observance, too, often became irksome, turning, at least for some people, feasts into fasts, and days of joy into days of mourning. In Russia-Poland and in Galicia no less than in Germany a revision of the laws governing Jewish life was strenuously urged, but the leaders of Orthodoxy turned a deaf ear to all such demands.[8] Their adamantine rigor further alienated the progressive element from Judaism. It therefore became the task of the leaders of Reform to grapple seriously with the whole problem, not alone by removing the abuses from

Jewish life, but by finding justification for their action in Jewish tradition. Their task was a double one, to redefine Judaism and to defend it from the attacks of sceptics and agnostics, as well as to ward off the assaults of their Orthodox opponents. Their labors are reflected in the new liturgies that were prepared for use in Reform services, in historical and theological studies, and in resolutions adopted at rabbinical conferences.[9]

The Hamburg Prayerbook[10] conformed, in the main, to the old liturgy, retaining practically all of its essential elements. The departures were comparatively slight and grew out of the desire to promote decorum and dignity in the service. They consisted in (1) provision for choral singing; (2) introduction of the German vernacular; (3) elimination of some Psalms, *Piyyutim* (mediaeval poems) and repetitious prayers; (4) replacement of certain poetic texts in the *Ashkenazic* (German) prayerbook with those in use by the *Sephardim* (Jews of Spanish descent). More serious was the (5) failure to provide daily morning, afternoon, and evening services.[11] These changes growing out of aesthetic and practical considerations in reality touched a fundamental problem of authority in Judaism. The revision of the old texts that were retained in the prayerbook affected (6) the vital doctrine of the ingathering of the dispersed of Israel unto Zion. Produced during the Jewish struggle for emancipation in Western lands, the Prayerbook omits such petitions as "make us go upright to our land" and "bring near our scattered ones and our dispersed ones from the ends of the earth." While the belief in a return to Palestine was not considered by the writers on the Creed as a dogma in Judaism, it undoubtedly formed part of the belief in the advent of the Messiah. Accordingly the critics of the Prayerbook branded this departure as heresy.[12] (7) another doctrinal change con-

sisted in the elimination of the hope of the restoration of animal sacrifices, considering prayer as a proper substitute for them. These alterations notwithstanding, the Prayerbook retained the entire Maimonidean Creed,[13] including the resurrection and the coming of the Messiah, and even the prayers for the restoration of the Temple.

The Reformed Society of Israelites, of Charleston, S. C., went considerably farther than the moderate Reformers of Hamburg. Striving "to go back to Moses and the Prophets," it openly flaunted Rabbinic tradition and authority in the English prayerbook that was prepared for use at its services.[14] As an introduction to the book, the editors set forth the Creed of the Society, which is based on the Maimonidean Articles and colored with Deistic conceptions. They characterize their Articles of Faith as embracing "nothing doubtful or ceremonial" and consisting "simply of those religious axioms to which neither the bigot nor the latitudinarian can reasonably object, and which indeed cannot be rejected, without rejecting the divine origin of the moral law. They constitute all that is *essential* to faith in revealed religion. To believe them with a perfect conviction; to pursue that conduct through life to which they naturally lead, and which their spirit comprehends and enforces, is, we are persuaded, the only true path of life here on earth, and the only hope and prospect of happiness hereafter."[15]

The stress laid in the Charleston Prayerbook on the immortality of the soul and on the ethical and universal character of Judaism appears as a distinctive feature in all subsequent Reform rituals. This viewpoint is particularly marked in the prayerbook which Holdheim prepared for his Berlin congregation.[16] Its underlying principles are stated in the introduction:

> Everywhere the national and dogmatically narrowing point of view had to yield to the living flow of the purely human and truly religious thought; for a noble, truly pious nature, belief in the universal Father of mankind has more attractive force than the belief in the God of Israel, the doctrine that all men are created in the image of God is of higher poetic worth than the election of Israel. The teaching of a universal law of human brotherhood and love for the neighbor has a greater potency than a particularistic ceremonial legislation. The belief in the all-inclusive covenant with man as man has a more sanctifying effect than that in an exclusive covenant between Jehovah and his firstborn son Israel. All these ideas subjectively present in the heart of the Jewish people have their great historical significance preparatory to the later course of the development of the human race; as such they offer the preacher a treasure trove of religious thoughts and truths as well as significant points of departure. But they should not be permitted to confuse the simple notions of the worshipper. . . . The diligent reader of these prayers, who is not unacquainted with the reform strivings of the recent decades, will find that most of the acquisitions in this territory, the lofty thoughts and sentiments which proved themselves to be truly Jewish (*echt juedisch*) in the refining process of scientific investigation, have been combined here into a beautiful bond. We call particular attention to such prayers as have for their themes the holiness of God and of man, the priestly mission of Israel, the purified Messianic idea, etc., etc.[17]

In keeping with the intention to eradicate the *national* aspect of Judaism, this prayerbook was written almost en-

tirely in German.[18] The revised edition of 1883 reverted to much of the traditional liturgy of the Synagogue. The congregation for which this prayerbook was prepared abolished the Sabbath service, and since 1849 has conducted services on Sundays only. (In curious inconsistency, Holdheim provided, in his prayerbook, a service for the second day of Rosh Hashanah.)

Geiger's prayerbook was drawn up with a truer eye on Jewish tradition and sentiment.[19] No less anxious to free Judaism from narrow particularism, Geiger valued its distinctly national expression as supplementary to its universal aspirations. For him Judaism was the religion of truth and light. Israel's historic task consisted in serving as the bearer and prophet of its teaching unto all the nations.[20] He supplied a service for the Ninth of Ab in commemoration of the downfall of the Jewish state and Temple in 70 C. E.[21] While emphasizing the historic connection between the Jewish people and their ancient homeland, he did not fail to voice their world mission and their aspirations for political equality with their neighbors.[22] He was also careful to remove the references to the restoration of the sacrificial cult from the Hebrew prayers. In the second edition, he amended the Hebrew text of the first benediction in the *'Amidah*, to express the hope of the Jew in a Messianic redemption instead of a Messianic person.[23] He likewise stressed the beliefs in the immortality of the soul and the spiritual character of the Godhead.

Leopold Stein[24] lays down in addition to Albo's three root principles (existence of God, revelation and retribution) three others: *imitatio dei*, sanctification of God's name among men and immortality.[25] His distinctive Reform principles consist in the elimination of the prayer for the return to Palestine and restoration of a Jewish national

state, and especially of the reëstablishment of the sacrificial cult, deeming prayer an all-sufficient form of religious expression. On the other hand, he purposely retained the prayer for the rebuilding of Zion and Jerusalem, as the place from which spiritual light radiated to mankind, and for the establishment of the Kingdom of God through the promised Messiah.[26]

The theological position of Reform Judaism is more consistently embodied in David Einhorn's *Olat Tamid* (1858).[27] Characteristically, the *Yigdal* does not appear in this prayerbook. All references to the restoration of the Temple and its sacrificial cult as well as to the ingathering of Israel unto Zion are eliminated. In place of the coming of a personal Messiah, Einhorn emphasizes the Messianic character of Israel and of the advent of a Messianic era of good will to all men. The doctrine of the resurrection of the body he replaces with that of the immortality of the soul. For him Judaism rested on the following five principles: (1) God is the Creator; (2) man bears His image; original virtue; immortality; (3) revelation (through Moses, who ranks supreme as prophet); (4) God judges; (5) Israel is His priest-people. In his emphasis on the priestly mission of Israel, Einhorn followed Leopold Stein.

Isaac M. Wise held a similar position. His "Cardinal Doctrines," as formulated in his *Minhag America*,[28] consist of the belief in God as the First Cause, in providence, revelation, immortality, (freedom of the will), and the election of Israel. With slight modifications, Einhorn's and Wise's principles serve as the basis of the Union Prayerbook, published by the Central Conference of American Rabbis.[29] The doctrine of Revelation is treated in its

broader sense of progressive revelation rather than limited to a certain event in time and to a certain body of literature.

III—Theoretical Foundations

The Reform movement involved definite theological conceptions. Its departures from traditional viewpoints naturally called forth considerable discussion. The pioneers of Reform, like Aaron Chorin and Michael Creizenach, at first tried to justify the innovations on the ground of Rabbinic law, often using Talmudic authority for cutting down Talmudic regulations.[30] Soon this method was found wholly inadequate. The more Reform was attacked on the basis of Talmud, the stronger grew the belief among some Reformers that Judaism, to be truly revived, must be purged of Rabbinism and of the Talmud and reëstablished on the foundations of the Bible. A dangerous line of cleavage was thus drawn between so-called "Mosaism" and "Rabbinism." In this spirit the Frankfort Society of Friends of Reform, composed wholly of laymen, issued the following declaration of principles (1843): "(1) We recognize the possibility of unlimited development in the Mosaic religion. (2) The collection of controversies, dissertations, and prescriptions commonly designated by the name Talmud possesses for us no authority, from either the dogmatic or the practical standpoint. (3) A Messiah who is to lead back the Israelites to the land of Palestine is neither expected nor desired by us; we know no fatherland except that to which we belong by birth or citizenship."[31]

The movement lacked consistency of principle. Though upholding "Mosaism," it declared itself against the rite of circumcision. On the other hand, in its opposition to "Rabbinism," it discarded some of its progressive ethical

ideals. Accordingly, the cry "back to Mosaism" and "down with the Talmud" called forth vigorous protests from the camp of Reformers no less than from that of the Orthodox. Its platform was branded as a "confession of unbelief." A sounder basis for Reform was needed.

Samuel Holdheim (1806-1860) began his career as Reformer as follower of, what Leopold Loew called, the *Accommodations richtung*. Like Chorin, he sought to justify departures from tradition by Talmudic dialectics. Soon this keen thinker developed his principle of radical reform. He came to differentiate between national-particularistic institutions, which were dependent in their origin upon the Jewish political state, and the purely religious institutions, which are of the very essence of Judaism.

> Now that the Jews have become integral elements of other peoples and states in conjunction with whom they are determined to further the moral aims of society, all laws and institutions of Judaism which base upon the election of a particular Jewish people, yes of a particular Jewish state, and hence by their very nature looked to exclusiveness and particularism, and serve merely to strengthen the nationalistic sentiment, as was the case among all ancient people, have lost all religious significance and obligation, and have given way to the national laws and institutions of such lands and peoples to which the Jews belong by birth and civic relationship.[32]

Thus Holdheim advocated the abolition of the Jewish laws of marriage and divorce, which, in his opinion are purely civic in character, and their replacement by those of the particular State in which the Jews live.[33]

The ceremonies of Judaism, too, he regarded as transitory, since, according to the Talmud itself, their binding authority will disappear in Messianic times.[34]

All laws which deal with the temple, the sacrificial, the priestly, or the Levitical service, in which category also the many dietary laws as well as the laws of clean and unclean belong, in a word, all laws which grew out of the idea of a particular theocratical sanctity of the Jewish people and base upon the conception of a particular union between God and Israel, the chosen people of God, and closer than that with other peoples, have lost altogether their religious truth and significance for us, now that these representations have become foreign to our whole mode of thought and we look upon God as the one and only Father, and consider and love all men as his children and our brethren.

All other ceremonies and customs—whether contained in the Bible or the products of later times—which at one time had and fulfilled the purpose of nourishing the religico-moral sentiment but have lost all such power owing to the complete change in the position and culture of men and have for this reason sunk into mere external forms, can and may not be performed by us any longer as religious practices. We must rather strive earnestly for inner religiosity and not for outer formalism in accordance with the words of the prophet Hosea (vi. 6), "I desire loving kindness and not sacrifices"; we must use only such ceremonies as are efficacious as a religious influence upon men of the present day.[35]

The essence of Judaism consisted for Holdheim in the spiritual and ethical doctrines of prophetism.

The definite God-cognition and moral content of Judaism as they are expressed briefly and sharply in the Ten Commandments, as they are more fully explained and developed in the whole Bible, the post-

> Biblical writings and particularly in the whole history of Judaism, together with the historical mission of Judaism, compose the exclusive, unchangeable foundation and the essential and only binding principles of Judaism; this mission means the preservation in all its purity of the God-cognition and this body of moral doctrine founded on justice and universal brotherly love and the promulgation thereof among men by the moral force of example, so that in accordance with the prophetical messianic idea, justice and brotherhood may become dominant in all the earth.[36]

In Holdheim's opinion, the standpoint of Reform was "to secure the kernel at its full worth and to secure it by breaking the shell."[37] In reality, it amounted to the belief in the miracle that the wine was to be preserved by breaking the keg in which it is contained. His strange reading of the psychology of religion emboldened him to believe in the power of continuance of disembodied religious spirit.

Reform Judaism entered upon a more fertile phase of its development with the labors of the great systematic thinker Abraham Geiger, who knew how to value not only the dictates of reason but also the sentiment and historic consciousness of the people. He belonged to the group of distinguished Jewish scholars led by Leopold Zunz, who set themselves to the task of rehabilitating Judaism in the eyes of the learned world by applying the scientific methods, acquired in the universities, to its history and literature. In his hands the science of Judaism became the source of power for Reform Judaism. The program of his scholarly work he summarized in these words: "Through the study of detail to comprehend the whole, through knowledge of the past to understand the present;

through science to faith. To draw from the past, to live in the present, to labor for the future."[38]

The critical analysis of the history and literature of the Jewish people disclosed the working of the eternal forces of growth and progress in Jewish thought and led to an almost revolutionary conception of Judaism. It showed that the law of evolution, which Darwin discovered in the organic and inorganic world, is operative also in the domain of religion, that instead of being the product of supernatural revelation, it is the outgrowth of man's eternal quest for God. Judaism, as a careful study of its history shows, is not a religion that was established at any one time in the past, either by Moses or by any other man or group of men, but a growing body of truth, a tree of life. Moses took the kernel of the belief in one God, which may have come down to him from Abraham, and planted it in the hearts of the newly liberated Israelites. The prophets, priests, and sages fostered its growth. From the truth embodied in the first commandment, declaring the unity of God, they developed the whole moral, civic, and ritual law. Their words, embodied in the Bible, were further amplified by the Rabbis in the Talmud and in the Codes of Law. Naturally not everything that was evolved in the course of the ages, whether in the Biblical or in the Talmudic periods, was progressive. Some things were indeed retrogressive. But at no time was there any complete break between what some called "Mosaism" and "Rabbinism." The same spirit that created the Bible also created the Talmud and the *Shulḥan Aruch*. Throughout our history the spirit of Judaism related itself to the conditions of our people's life, to their needs and hopes. Like the rose, it drank in not only the sunshine, but also the moisture of the soil in which it grew. The law of evolution accounts for the varied forms which it assumed in

the course of different ages and in different lands. It also explains the rise of the Reform Movement, the latest link in the long chain of development of historic Judaism.

Judaism, being an ever-growing body of truth, aiming in each age to help man find his place in life, not merely gives us the right but imposes upon us the duty to adapt its eternal verities to the changed conditions of the present day. The flower that blossomed last year was fresh and fragrant, but today it is faded and withered. In love for the flower, it is not enough to press it between the pages of a book or to turn it into perfume; it is necessary to plant its seeds anew that the old flower may blossom again in the new one. If Judaism is to live and to flourish, its noble truths must be transplanted into the hearts of modern men and women.

IV—Platform of Reform Judaism

The full extent to which the ferment of the theories of Reform affected the body of Jewish belief and practice may be judged by the following declarations of principles. The first thoroughgoing statement of Reform views was made at a conference in Philadelphia, in 1869, convened in the home of Samuel Hirsch and participated in by David Einhorn and Isaac M. Wise. It announces:

1. The Messianic aim of Israel is not the restoration of the old Jewish state under a descendant of David, involving a second separation from the nations of the earth, but the union of all the children of God, so as to realize the unity of all rational creatures and their call to moral sanctification.

2. We look upon the destruction of the Jewish commonwealth not as a punishment for the sinfulness of Israel, but as a result of the divine purpose revealed to Abraham, which, as has become ever clearer

in the course of the world's history, consists in the dispersion of the Jews to all parts of the earth, for the realization of their high priestly mission, to lead the nations to the true knowledge and worship of God.

3. The Aaronic priesthood and the Mosaic sacrificial cult were preparatory steps to the real priesthood of the whole people, which began with the dispersion of the Jews, and to the sacrifices of sincere devotion and moral sanctification, which alone are pleasing and acceptable to the Most Holy. These institutions, preparatory to higher religiosity, were consigned to the past, once for all, with the destruction of the second temple, and only in this sense—as educational influences in the past—are they to be mentioned in our prayers.

4. Every distinction between Aaronides and non-Aaronides, as far as religious rites and duties are concerned, is consequently inadmissable, both in religious cult and in life.

5. The selection of Israel as the people of religion, as the bearers of the highest idea of humanity, is still, as ever, to be strongly emphasized, and for this very reason, whenever this is mentioned it shall be done with full emphasis laid on the world-embracing mission of Israel and the love of God for all His children.

6. The belief in the bodily resurrection has no religious foundation, and the doctrine of immortality refers to the after-existence of the soul only.

7. Urgently as the cultivation of the Hebrew language, in which the treasures of divine revelation are given and the immortal remains of a literature that influenced all civilized nations are preserved, must be always desired by us in fulfillment of a sacred duty,

yet has it become unintelligible to the vast majority of our co-religionists; therefore it must make way, as it is advisable under existing circumstances, to intelligible language in prayer, which, if not understood, is a soulless form.[39]

More thoroughgoing was the platform adopted by the Pittsburgh Rabbinical Conference, in 1885, under the leadership of Kaufmann Kohler. It takes into account the results of the science of comparative study of religion as of the science of Judaism, and strikes the prophetic note of social justice as an inseparable part of religion. While its anti-nationalism and anti-Zionism no longer express the unanimous sentiments of Reform Jewish leaders, the Pittsburgh Platform still presents much that is basic to Reform Judaism. It reads:

In view of the wide divergence of opinion and of the conflicting ideas prevailing in Judaism today, we, as representatives of Reform Judaism in America, in continuation of the work begun at Philadelphia in 1869, unite upon the following principles:

First—We recognize in every religion an attempt to grasp the Infinite One, and in every mode, source or book of revelation held sacred in any religious system the consciousness of the indwelling of God in man. We hold that Judaism presents the highest conception of the God-idea as taught in our holy Scriptures and developed and spiritualized by the Jewish teachers in accordance with the moral and philosophical progress of their respective ages. We maintain that Judaism preserved and defended amid continual struggles and trials and under enforced isolation this God-idea as the central religious truth for the human race.

Second—We recognize in the Bible the record of

the consecration of the Jewish people to its mission as priest of the One God, and value it as the most potent instrument of religious and moral instruction. We hold that the modern discoveries of scientific researches in the domains of nature and history are not antagonistic to the doctrines of Judaism, the Bible reflecting the Primitive ideas of its own age and at times clothing its conception of divine providence and justice dealing with man in miraculous narratives.

Third—We recognize in the Mosaic legislation a system of training the Jewish people for its mission during its national life in Palestine, and today we accept as binding only such ceremonies as elevate and sanctify our lives, but reject all such as are not adapted to the views and habits of modern civilization.

Fourth—We hold that all such Mosaic and Rabbinical laws as regulate diet, priestly purity and dress originated in ages and under the influence of ideas altogether foreign to our present mental and spiritual state. They fail to impress the modern Jew with a spirit of priestly holiness; their observance in our day is apt rather to obstruct than to further modern spiritual elevation.

Fifth—We recognize in the modern era of universal culture of heart and intellect the approach of the realization of Israel's great Messianic hope for the establishment of the Kingdom of truth, justice and peace among men. We consider ourselves no longer a nation but a religious community, and therefore expect neither a return to Palestine, nor a sacrificial worship under the administration of the sons of Aaron, nor the restoration of any of the laws concerning the Jewish state.

Sixth—We recognize in Judaism a progressive religion, ever striving to be in accord with the postulates of reason. We are convinced of the utmost necessity of preserving the historical identity with our great past. Christianity and Islam being daughter-religions of Judaism, we appreciate their mission to aid in the spreading of monotheistic and moral truth. We acknowledge that the spirit of broad humanity in our age is our ally in the fulfillment of our mission, and therefore we extend the hand of fellowship to all who coöperate with us in the establishment of the reign of truth and righteousness among men.

Seventh—We reassert the doctrine of Judaism, that the soul of man is immortal, grounding this belief on the divine nature of the human spirit, which forever finds bliss in righteousness and misery in wickedness. We reject as ideas not rooted in Judaism the belief both in bodily resurrection and in *Gehenna* and *Eden* (hell and paradise), as abodes for everlasting punishment or reward.

Eighth—In full accordance with the spirit of Mosaic legislation which strives to regulate the relation between rich and poor, we deem it our duty to participate in the great task of modern times, to solve, on the basis of justice and righteousness, the problems presented by the contrasts and evils of the present organizations of society.[40]

V—The Mission of Reform Judaism

The pioneers of Reform labored in the belief that Judaism is not a thing of the past, confined to the ghetto, but a living spirit for today and tomorrow, equally as needed in and equally as applicable to the new conditions in lands of freedom. As the fires of the French Revolution de-

voured the structure and foundations of decayed European politics and religion, these men with Maccabean zeal rescued the sacred oil of the synagogue to feed the lights of the *Menorah.* Largely due to their labors, the light of Judaism has been kept alive in Germany, France, England, and America. Isaac Disraeli, the English author and father of the distinguished statesman, Benjamin Disraeli, is reported to have said to one of the founders of the Reform synagogue in London: "Had these changes been introduced at an earlier period, neither I nor my family would have seceded from the Jewish community." To this the Rev. Isidore Harris adds, "It is undoubtedly true that English Reform has been the means of keeping within the fold many who otherwise must have been lost to us, as happened in the case of some of the chief families of the Bevis Marks Synagogue." What is true of England is true of all other lands, where the walls of the ghetto fell and where the Jew was drawn into the general social, cultural, and political life around him. There Reform appeared as a beacon light to the perplexed, guiding them in the faith and in the idealism of the fathers. *It has made it possible for the scientifically trained Jew to be intellectually honest in his Judaism.*

Many congregations that at one time repudiated Reform ideas in principle have been compelled by circumstances to adopt them in practice. Prayers and sermons in the vernacular, mixed choirs, instrumental music, family pews, confirmation of girls as well as of boys have become part of conservative congregational life. In fact Neo-Orthodoxy or Conservative Judaism, which has its spiritual centers in the Breslau Seminary in Germany and in the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, follows tardily and timidly where Reform has bravely led the way. In their "Orthodoxy," its present leaders are more "Reform"

than the avowed Reformers of a couple of generations ago.[41] Reform has bridged the gap between Judaism and the new political, social, and cultural life of our people in Western Europe and in America, and has developed a magnificent body of religious truth.

Reform Judaism is not as some of its opponents represent it, an attenuated and diluted edition of historical Judaism, growing out of a weakened religious ardor. A survey of its development shows that it came to save and to regenerate. In the words of Dr. K. Kohler:

> Reform surrendered the unessential, the transient and everchanging form in order to preserve and unfold the perennial spirit, the ever-living truth. It is and wants to be nothing else but Judaism revitalized —Judaism translated into the language, the spirit, and world-view of our age.
>
> And this is the point which is so little understood by many laymen and learned. Because it was cradled in the fatherland of the Reformation, people take it to be a sort of Jewish Reformation and speak of it as "Reformed" Judaism, as if it were a system of thought or creed fixed and finished by a rabbinical body who broke with the past. Reform Judaism constitutes no break with the past, but asserts that the principle of Reform and Progress, which it accentuates, was ever a potent force inherent in Judaism, only working *unconsciously* in former ages and now *consciously* applied in our age of historical research.[42]

Neither does Reform Judaism claim to be a new religion. It is in every respect a mere link in the chain of Israel's historical continuity. It does not separate itself from the body of Israel. Despite differences of religious interpretation of life, we, of the Reform wing, lay strong emphasis upon the ideal of Jewish spiritual—as distinguished

from political or geographical—unity. The children of Israel constitute a religious brotherhood. Reform Judaism, as the outgrowth of long ages of religious development, is inseparably bound to Jewish tradition. We celebrate the holidays that have come down to us from the past. It is only in accommodation to the new conditions, under which the Jews are now living in lands of freedom, that some congregations have instituted a Sunday service, but very few have substituted Sunday for the historical day of rest. The Second Days of the Festivals (see the *Jewish Encyclopedia* for their origin) were abrogated not only because our people have found it extremely difficult to observe them, but also because they have lost all meaning. With the exception of Rosh Hashanah, they are not observed even by the strictest Orthodox Jews of Palestine. Of the old ceremonials we try to keep all those that are vital to the life of the Jew. We look with deep reverence upon our religious literature. But we do not regard it as the sole source of authority in our religion. The Bible is the foundation but not the whole structure of Judaism. The Bible did not create Judaism; Judaism created the Bible.

For our religious knowledge we do not depend exclusively upon tradition, the Bible, the Talmud, or the philosophic writings of earlier days. With the great teachers of the past, we believe that in a limited way our reason and our conscience can help us fathom some of the mysteries of God's existence. If with all our minds and with all our hearts we truly seek Him, we shall truly find Him. Our sacred literature and traditions must guide us on our way; but we ourselves must search after God. Modern science, which has disclosed the wonders of earth and sky, has revealed to us in a new light the majesty of our God, of that *Meḳor Ḥayyim* (source of all existence) whose life

throbs in star and flower and heart of man, through whom we live and move and have our being. He is not for us a mere blind force that vitalizes matter, but a self-conscious, reasoning Being, who knows the needs of the world, of nations, and of individual men. To Him we can turn in prayer and be strengthened in our weakness, comforted in our sorrow, and restored from the selfishness and filth of sin to a holy and pure life. Humanly speaking, we can find no more sacred word by which to stammer forth His great name than that of "Father." Into His hands we entrust our spirit, in life and in death.

Our conception of God is not a detached philosophical doctrine. It enters deeply into the complexion of our view of human life and destiny. In God's light, death is stripped of its terrors. The saintly Rabbi Shneor Zalman of Liadi, whom the late Professor Schechter quotes approvingly in one of his essays, exclaimed in prayer unto God: "I have no wish for Thy Paradise, nor any desire for the bliss in the world to come. I want Thee and Thee alone."[43] When estranged from God, our very life is death; but with God, even death is life to us. The righteous live even after death. Their work remains behind them; their noble spirits, their hopes, their prayers and—what is greatest of all—their examples live on as blessings. It therefore, follows that our whole life depends upon the way we spend our energies while moving in the midst of the duties, of the heat and the struggle of day, upon the patience with which we endure our trials and the fortitude with which we bear our burdens. We consider it insufficient to say, "God's in his heaven; all's right with the world." Our ideal should rather be this: "Because God's in his heaven, we must see that all's right with the world." We, as men and as Jews, must promote the cause of justice on earth, defend the weak, and relieve the oppressed.

The thorough application of the imperatives that grow out of the belief in ethical monotheism to the problems that arise in the everyday life of man may be regarded as the quintessence of Judaism. The significant and the unique feature of Judaism has been what Morris Jastrow singled out in the prophetical movement: "To make religion consistently *coextensive* with life itself—to wipe out all distinctions between an official and unofficial cult, to set up a single standard for all conduct, public and private, and to bring religious doctrine and religious practice into absolutely consistent accord."[44] The acceptance of the Kingdom of God imposes definite obligations.

This essential trait of historical Judaism is present also in Reform Judaism. "The Reform Movement," writes Professor I. Elbogen, "wanted—if we may reduce the wish to a word—nothing less than the demand of the prophets for a new heart and a new mind, for the casting out of the stony heart from within and its replacement with a heart of flesh and blood." Even where it occasionally "degenerated from its high ideals and became synonymous with a minimum program of Jewish custom and practice," Reform continued to emphasize "the fundamental ideas of Judaism, its ethics, its Messianism, its constant demand for regeneration and sincere spirituality."[45]

In its origin and development Reform has been associated with rationalism. Signs abound that, with its growing transformation from the religious ideal of an intellectual minority into a religious movement of the masses, it will be wedded to the other forms of Jewish religious expression, to *Halachah* and to *Mysticism*. The need is growing ever more urgent of providing the people with concrete regulations whereby to guide them in the practice of their faith. And no less urgent is the need of the fervor and

warmth which mysticism, in its nobler forms, brings to religion. As the older manifestations of Judaism, so Reform must aim to satisfy the whole man, not the mind alone, but also his will and his heart.

NOTES—PART TWO

[1]*History of Religion,* Vol. I., p. vii.

[2]*Christian Thought,* pp. 29-30; see also pp. 22-24, 33.

[3]II Macc. ii. 21; viii. 1; xiv. 38.

[4]Ibid. vi. 7.

[5]Ibid xiv. 38.

[6]*Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians* (i. 13), p. 8.

[7]Ketubot vii. 6 and 72a, b; also Numbers Rabba viii. שהיא נוהגת בעצמה דת יהודית שהיא צנועה.

[8]Ch. VII, section *Bahodesh.* Rashi, Yebamot 24b.

[9]As possibly in II Kings xvi. 6; xxv. 25; Jer. xxxii. 12.

[10]Esther ii. 5.

[11]Isa. lxi. 3, 6-7. Compare Ezek. xliv. 9 with xlvii. 22.

[12]Esther viii. 17. Similarly in Neo-Hebrew the verbal noun מתיוונים was formed from the gentilic יוני. Cf. Hoschander in *Jewish Quarterly Review* (N. S.), XI, 307ff.

[13]Megila 13a. The English noun "Jew" is derived from the Old French *Juieu* and *Giu,* which was in turn derived from the Latin accusative *Judaeum,* with the elimination of the letter *d.* The Latin *Judaeus* was the equivalent of the Greek Ἰουδαῖος which corresponded to the Aramaic יהודאי and the Hebrew יהודי. See article in the *Jewish Encyclopedia,* Vol. VII, pp. 174-175.

[14]Esther Rabba VI. Similarly the words *Vayihad Jitro* of Exod. xviii. 1 are interpreted in the Tanhuma. *Sheyihed sh'mo shel ha-kadosh Baruch hu* and *Shena'aso Jehudi.* See Buber's note, ad loc.

[15]See his essay in the He'atid iv, pp. 90-92.

[16]See his Selected Essays, trans. from the Hebrew by Leon Simon.

[17]*Bernhard Felsenthal,* ed. by Emma Felsenthal, p. 212ff. See

also Jost, *Geschichte d. Judentums,* Vol. I, pp. 1-12; Graetz, *Geschichte d. Juden,* Vol. II, pp. 174ff.

[18]See his article "*Judaism*" in the *Jewish Encyclopedia* VII; and *Jewish Theology,* Ch. II.

[19]On the character of Jewish Ethics, see M. Lazarus, *The Ethics of Judaism,* Vol. I. Ch. III.

[20]Mazzini, *Duties of Man* (Everyman's Library), p. 259.

[21]Archbishop D. Alexander, art. "Ethics," in *International Standard Bible Encyclopedia.*

[22]See my essay on "Love, Human and Divine," Yearbook *C. C. A. R.,* XXVII (1917), and separate reprint, pp. 56-57.

[23]See L. Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews,* Vol. III., pp. 80ff.

[24]Isa. lx. 3.

[25]Ibid. lvi. 7.

[26]Ibid. xlv. 22-23.

[27]Deut. xxiii. 4ff.

[28]Mal. i. 11.

[29]Ibid. ii. 10.

[30]*The Foundations of Israel's History* (Reprint from *Yearbook of Central Conference of American Rabbis,* Vol. xxv.), p. 17.

[31]Acts xv. 21.

[32]Matt. xxiii. 15; cf. Genesis Rabba xxviii; cf. Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash,* Vol. VI, Intro. p. xlvi.

[33]Schürer, *History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ,* Division II, Vol. II, p. 291ff., and Vol. III, p. 270ff.; Kohler, *Jewish Theology,* Chs. LVI-LVII. For the attitude of later Judaism toward missionary propaganda see Moses Mendelssohn, "Schreiben an den Herrn Diaconus Lavater," in *Gesammelte Sahriften* (Leipzig, 1843), Vol. III., pp. 39ff.

[34]K. Kohler, *Jewish Theology,* p. 445.

[35]See Acts xv. 19ff.

[36]See Joseph Jacobs, *Jewish Contributions to Civilization.*

[37]See S. Poznanski's learned article on the Karaites in Hasting's *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics,* Vol. VII, pp. 662ff.

Chapter II.

[1]Exod. xvii. 12; Isa. xxxiii. 6.

[2]Gen. xxiv. 48; Jer. ii. 21; Ps. xxv. 10 and xxxi. 6.

[3]Psa. cxix. 30.

[4]Prov. xii. 17. Cf. I Sam. xxvi. 23; Isa. lix. 4; Jer. v. 1.

[5]Hab. ii. 4.

[6]Deut. xxxii. 4.

[7]Ps. xxxvi. 6; also cxix. 89.

[8]Ibid. xxxiii. 4.

[9]Hos. ii. 22.

[10]Gen. xv. 6.

[11]Isa. vii. 9.

[12]Exod. xiv. 31.

[13]II Chron. xx. 20.

[14]II K. xviii. 19-22.

[15]Ibid. xviii. 5; xix. 10.

[16]Ps. ix. 1; xxi. 11; xxii. 5-6; (xxv. 2; xxvi. 1); xxviii. 7; xxxii. 7-8; lxxxiv. 13; lxii. 9; xxxvii. 32; cxv. 11; cxii. 6-7; also cxxv. 1.

[17]N. Angel, Psychology, pp. 390-1.

[18]Num. xx. 12.

[19]Deut. xxxii. 20.

[20]Ps. x. 3.

[21]Deut. x. 17-18.

[22]Sira ii. 13.

[23]Philo, *On the Creation of the World,* Ch. LXI.; Josephus, *Against Apion;* see below, Lecture III.

[24]Rom. x. 9-10 (Moffatt's trans.); also Rom. iii. 23-31; iv; ix. 30ff.

[25]Gal. iii. 23-27 and 13-14; see art. "Faith," Hastings, *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics,* Vol. V., p. 689. In the Epistle to the Hebrews xi-xii. 2 the mystical vein of faith is linked with the Judaic. It may be taken as a Midrashic development of the text of Isa. xl. 31: "They that wait for the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles; they

shall run, and not be weary; they shall walk, and not faint." It is illustrated by the record of the fathers from Adam to David, of the prophets and saints. It utilizes the Psalms (e. g., cvii). The passages seems also to refer specifically to IV Maccabees (see xi. 35-36) and presents a tinge of Philo's teaching. For the intellectualistic aspect of faith in Jesus see John xx. 31; also iv. 53, xiv. 11, xv. 5, xvii. 23, etc.

[26]Abot. iii. 18; Berachot 61b.

[27]Exod. R. xvii.

[28]Songs of Songs. ii. 3.

[29]Exod. R. xxxii.

[30]Song of Songs R. to Song of Songs ii. 5ff.

[31]See the Authorized Daily Prayer Book (trans. by S. Singer), p. 113a; also pp. 39-40.

[32]Ibid. p. 4.

[33]Mechilta, Beshalaḥ vi; and in Yalkut Shim'oni, Beshalaḥ xiv, 240.

[34]Ḳad ha-Ḳemaḥ, art. "*Emunah.*"

[35]Cf. Ps. cxix. 86.

[36]Makkot 23b-24b.

[37]Ps. xv.

[38]Isa. xxxiii. 15.

[39]Mic. vi. 8.

[40]Isa. lvi. 1.

[41]Amos v. 4.

[42]Hab. ii. 4.

[43]Sabbat 31 a, b.

[44]Ab. d. R. Nathan, c. 33.

[45]Men. 29b.

[46]Sabbat 31a.

[47]Cited in Baḥia b. Aher's commentary to Exod. xiv. 31 and to Gen. xviii. 19; see S. J. Rappaport, "Toledot R. Ḥananel," "Likkutim," in *Bikkure Ha'ittim*, xii. 34-55.

[48]Ḳad ha-Ḳemaḥ, art. "*Biṭṭaḥon.*"

[49]Saadia Gaon's high regard of tradition as the foundation of human culture can be understood in the light of his anti-Kara-

ism. He writes: "The all-wise, blessed be He, knowing that His laws would, in course of time, require transmitters in order to be accepted by the later generations as by the former ones, implanted in human reason the faculty of receiving prophetic truth and in the soul room for its welcome, that thereby His stories and traditions may be verified," (*Emunot*, iii. 65).

[50]Its Arabic title is "Kitab al'—Amanat wa'l—I'tikadat," i. e., "Book of Philosophic and Religious Beliefs." Dr. D. Neumark renders the title, "Dogmas and Beliefs." See his *Principles of Judaism*, p. 39.

[51]See Malter, *Saadia Gaon*, p. 193, n. 455.

[52]Ibid., Intro., iv.

[53]Or figuratively.

[54]H. Malter, *Saadia Gaon*, pp. 195-196; see also note on p. 459.

[55]D. Neumark, *Hebrew Union College Annual*, I, pp. 525ff.

[56]*Emunot* VII. 3, and Neumark, op. cit., pp. 526 and 563.

[57]Op. cit., Intro. vi. 2.

[58]Haggiga 14b.

[59]See Intro. to Emunah Ramah.

[60]More Nebuchim, i. 70, 72, and Preface to Com. on Zeraim.

[61]Letter to R. Ḥisdai Halevi, *Kobeẓ Teshubot* (Leipzig), Pt. II, p. 23.

[62]See Jeḥiel of Pisa, *Minhat Ḳenaot*, p. 9.

[63]See *Ḥobot Halebabot*, Intro.

[64]Zangwill-Davidson, *Selected Religious Poems of Solomon Ibn. Gabirol.*

[65]Cf. S. Singer, Authorized Daily Prayer Book, p. 46.

[66]Kuzari iii. 19.

[67]Kuzari i. 63.

[68]*Yesod Mora*, Intro., cited by M. Friedlander, *Essays on the Writings of Ibn Ezra*, p. 33, n. 1.

[69]Ibid., p. 49, n. 1.

[70]*Ikḳarim*, i. 16, 19.

[71]Ibid. iii. 7.

[72]The allusion is to I Kings xi. 1.

[73]B. Halper, *Post Biblical Hebrew Literature* (trans.), pp. 76ff. For the serious controversy concerning the relation of philosophy and Judaism see *Kobez Teshubot HaRaMBaM* part III, and H. Graetz, *History of the Jews*, Vol. III, Ch. XVI.

[74]Samson Raphael Hirsch, *Nineteen Letters of Ben Uziel*, Friedlander, *Jewish Religion*, and Schechter, *Studies in Judaism* and *Aspects of Rabbinic Theology* may serve as examples.

[75]*Outlines of Liberal Judaism*, p. 348.

[76]Ibid., p. 351.

Chapter III.

[1]He illustrates it with Gen. xv. 6; Ex. xiv. 31. These may also be rendered by the word "believe." See preceding chapter.

[2]He cites Deut. iv. 39 and vi. 4.

[3]*Jerusalem, Schriften*, III, pp. 321-2; see p. 319ff.

[4]Cited by Leopold Loew, *Juedische Dogmen*, in *Gesammelte Schriften*, I p. 169.

[5]Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden XI*, p. 86ff; Schechter, *Studies in Judaism I*, pp. 147-181 and notes, pp. 351-2; I. Abrahams, *Historical and Explanatory Notes to Singer's Prayer Book*, pp. cii-cvi.

[6]Op. cit., p. 323.

[7]See "Dogma" in Funk and Wagnall's New Standard Dictionary. J. R. Illingworth properly observes that for the leading Christian Churchmen: "Dogma was not a surd, an irrational quantity, an inorganic element which thought could not assimilate, but a condensed truth which it was the business of philosophy to realize, to rationalize, to justify" (*Reason and Revelation*, p. 6).

[8]Lev. xxv. 47.

[9]Dan. iv. 12, 20, 23; see also Ben Sira xxxvii. 17.

[10]Sifra, Beḥukotai iii. 2 and elsewhere, where the phrase Kofer b'iḳḳar is equivalent to Kopher ba-elohim.

[11]See pp. 2, 3, 44, and 102.

[12]See pp. 2 and 4.

[13]H. Yesode Ha-Torah i. 6.

[14]Perek Ḥelek, Intro.

[15]Neumark, *To'ledot ha-'Ikkarim,* Ch. I.

[16]*Ikkarim,* i. 3.

[17]*Religion of the Semites,* pp. 18-19.

[18]Hos. iv.; Is. xi, etc.

[19]Mic. vi. 6; Deut. x. 12ff.

[20]Philo, *On the Creation of the World,* lxi; see the entire chapter.

[21]*Life of Moses,* Vol. II, Ch. IV. See Bentwich, *Philo,* p. 54.

[22]Ibid.; so, too, Josephus, *Antiquities* IV. 8, 13, and *Jer. Ber.* i. 5.

[23]Bk. II, 21-22.

[24]Bk. II, 27.

[25]Masechet Kutim ii. 28.

[26]A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans,* p. 207.

[27]Josephus, *Wars* I. viii. 2ff.; *Antiquities* XIII. x. 5ff., etc.

[28]Tos. Sanh. xiii goes further in announcing that "there are righteous men among the heathens who have a share in the world to come."

[29]Sanh. x. 1; see also Jer. Peah i. 1 (end).

[30]This is omitted in the Sifre i. 112.

[31]The Sifre reads אף על פי שיש בידו מצוות חרבה כדי הוא לדחותו מן העולם (I. 112). This statement is derived from Num. xv. 31: "Because he hath despised the word of the Lord and hath broken His commandments." See Herford, *Abot,* pp. 80-82.

[32]*Antiquities* X. xi. 7.

[33]Sifra Beḥukotai ii. 2.

[34]Mechilta Bo. xviii, ed. Friedman, 22b ולפי שחוציא את עצמו מן הכלל וכפר בעיקר.

The Passover Haggadah Editions read, כפר בעיקר.

[35]Sanh. 44a: אף על פי שחטא ישראל הוא Though he breaks with the religious and moral principle of Judaism, he is held to the Jewish people.

[36]Kiddushin 40a.

[37]Ibid. See also Horayot 8a and Maimonides, H. 'Abodat Kochabim ii. 4.

[38]Megila 13a.

[39]Sabbat 31a.

[40]Lev. xix. 18.

[41]Gen. v. 1. See Sifra, Kedoshim IV.

[42]Hab. ii. 4; Makkot 23b-24a. See above, Lecture II.

[43]On the basis of Num. xv. 39.

[44]Makkot 23a; Mechilta Beshalaḥ VI.

[45]Sanh. 74a.

[46]Tamid v. 1; Berachot 12a; Jer. Ber. i. 5 (8).

[47]Jer. Ber. i. 5 (8); Josephus, *Antiquities* IV. viii. 13.

[48]In the Evening Service the Shema is fitted into a similar framework of introductory and concluding prayers.

[49]S. Pinsker, *Likḳute Ḳadmoniyot*, Addenda, p. 3ff.

[50]*Eshkol ha-Kofer,* Chs. XXXIII-XXXIV. For later formulations of the Karaite Creed see articles "Creed" and "Karaites" in Hastings *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, Vols. IV, p. 246, and VII, 668ff. See also Solomon Troki, *Apiryon,* (ed. Neubauer), Ch. XV. Troki's phraseology displays marked dependence on the Maimonidean Creed.

[51]See D. Neumark, *Principles of Judaism,* p. 39.

[52]*Kusari* i. 11, 25, 43. See Neumark, op. cit., p. 40.

[53]Gen. xvii. 11; Exod. xxxi. 13.

[54]Hence he traces ordinances like the reading of the Scroll of Esther on Purim and the observance of Ḥanukkah to Moses and raises the Mishnah to the rank of an inspired work.

[55]In the Talmud editions this chapter is numbered xi.

[56]The entire work was written in Arabic in 1168. Its Hebrew translation by Judah Ibn Tibbon and the Arabic original were edited by J. Holzer under the title, *Moses Maimuni's Einleitung zu Ḥelek* (Berlin, 1901). An English translation by J. Abelson appeared in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* (O. S.), Vol. XIX, pp. 28-58.

Maimonides discusses the articles of faith also in his *Code*: *H. Yesode Ha-Torah, H. 'Akum and H. Teshubah,* Vol. III. pp. 6ff., and more comprehensively in his *More Nebuchim.* He omits from the latter the discussion of the non-philsophical articles

about the Messiah and the Resurrection. Bk. III, Ch. 23 contains a reference to the Resurrection and a passing comment about the Messiah. Of special interest is his statement of the beliefs of Judaism in the Iggeret Teman, where he approximates the viewpoint of Halevi. In his *Maamar Hayihud* he speaks of only three principles of faith: עבודת האל וסילוק הדמות ממנו והליכת דרך היושר (ed. Steinschneider, p. 28). In H. Issure Biah. 2, only two are named: ייחוד השם ואיסור עכו"ם.

[57]Immortality is accordingly limited by Maimonides to intellectual people who have attained mental and spiritual perfection. On this point he was strongly criticized by Crescas.

[58]The resurrection he considers as a miracle.

[59]*Studies in Judaism,* Vol. I, pp. 163-164. Among the followers and defendants of Maimonides, Leopold Loew names: Simon b. Zemah Duran, Abraham Bibago, David b. Leon Mantuanus, Isaiah Hurwitz; Moses Kunitzer (1796) and Aaron Chorin (1803). See *Juedische Dogmen* (Pest. 1871) p. 21; and *Gesammelte Schriften,* Vol. I.

[60]*Jewish Quarterly Review* (N. S.), Vol. IX, pp. 305-336.

[61]It seems to have made its first appearance in the Prayer Book at the head of the service in a Cracow edition of 1578. See Elbogen, *Gottesdienst,* 87ff.

[62]W. Bacher, *Jewish Quarterly Review,* (O. S.), Vol. II, p. 489.

[63]Mann's translation is embodied in the Union Hymnal, published by the Central Conference of American Rabbis. There other versions of the Yigdal are given. All the versions prepared for use in Reform Jewish rituals and hymnals present important variations in the articles dealing with the Messiah and the Resurrection.

[64]Sefer Maharil, *Likkutim.* (ed. Warsaw, 1874), p. 86.

[65]*Juedische Dogmen. Pest.* (1871), p. 20; and in *Gesammelte Schriften,* Vol. I.

[66]Ibid.

[67]Or Adonai, Introd. Crescas refers to Maimonides, *H. Yesode Hatorah* i. 6 and follows the view of the Halachot Gedolot.

[68]Neumark, *The Principles of Judaism,* p. 44.

[69]*Iḳḳarim* i. 26; see A. Tänzer, *Die Religions philosophie Josef Albo's* (1896), Vol. I.

[70]This view is already expressed in Kiddushin 39b; *Makkot* 23 a, b.

[71]*'Akedat Yizhak,* Ch. LV.

[72]*Yesod ha-Emunah.*

[73]Abot ii. 1.

[74]*Rosh Amanah,* Ch. XXIII.

[75]Sanh. 99.

[76]Responsa 344, cited by J. D. Eisenstein, *Oẓar Dinim Uminhagim,* art. "Iḳḳarim," p. 325.

[77]K. Kohler, *Jewish Theology,* p. 26.

Chapter IV.

[1]See art. "Ghetto" in *Jewish Encyclopedia,* Vol. V, pp. 652-655; also I. Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages;* and D. Philipson, *Old European Jewries.*

[2]See Julius H. Greenstone, *The Messiah Idea in Jewish History.*

[3]M. Raisin, *The Haskalah Movement.*

[4]Cited by I. Elbogen, "Destruction or Construction?" in *Hebrew Union College Annual,* Vol. I, p. 628.

[5]Ibid.

[6]See his art. "Conversion" in *Jewish Encyclopedia,* Vol. IV, 249ff.

[7]See D. Philipson, *The Reform Movement in Judaism;* Caesar Seligman, *Geschichte der Juedischen Reformbewegung;* and S. Bernfeld, *Toledot ha-Reformazion ha-Datit B'yisrael* (a rather biased presentation); also Martin Philippson, *Neueste Geschichte des Juedischen Volkes,* Vol. I, pp. 146ff; and S. Dubnow, *Dibre Yeme Yisrael B'dorot ha-Aḥaronim,* Vol. II, pp. 44ff.; and the Yearbooks of the Central Conference of American Rabbis.

[8]See M. L. Lilienblum, *Kol Kitbe,* Vol. I (Dibre Torah).

[9]Leopold Loew writes: "The Jewish religious textbooks that enjoyed the greatest popularity in Germany use Albo's formulation of dogmas as their basis, without wholly discarding the

Maimonidean articles" (*Gesam. Schriften,* Vol. I, p. 165). For a complete list of these text books see Strassburger, *Geschichte der Erziehung und des Unterrichts bei den Israeliten,* pp. 277ff.

[10]Seder Ha'abodah, *Ordnung der Oeffentlichen Andacht fuer die Sabbath—und Festtage des ganzen Jahres.* (ed. S. I. Fraenkel and M. I. Bresselau, 1819).

[11]The edition of 1814 remedied this defect. It also provides a service for the ninth of Ab, which includes the Eli Ẓion.

[12]*Eleh Dibre Habbrit,* p. iii.

[13]The text of the *Yigdal* appears without any change whatever.

[14]The Sabbath Service and Miscellaneous Prayers, adopted by the Reformed Society of Israelites, founded in Charleston, S. C., Nov. 21, 1825. It was compiled by Isaac Harby, Abraham Moise, and David Nunes Carvalho, and published in 1830. Most of the hymns included in this Prayerbook were adopted from Christian sources. See Intro. to 1916 edition by Dr. Barnett A. Elzas.

[15]The editors further announce: "In laying down these Articles and this form of Service, the compilers of the following Prayers for the Reformed Society of Israelites, do not presume to restrict the faith or conscience of any man. Let each one believe or reject what his heart or understanding (at once humbled and enlightened by Divine goodness) may rationally dictate to be believed or rejected. The compilers act only for themselves, for their children, and for all those who think the period has arrived, when the Jew should break in pieces the sceptre of Rabbinical power, and assert his attribute as a free agent, obedient only to the laws of God, and responsible for his thoughts and actions to the merciful Creator *alone.*"

Articles of Faith

"I. I believe with a perfect faith, that God Almighty (blessed be his name!) is the Creator and Governor of all creation; and that He alone has made, does make, and will make all things.

"II. I believe with a perfect faith, that the Creator (blessed

be his name!) is only ONE IN UNITY; to which there is no resemblance; and that he alone has been, is, and will be God.

"III. I believe with a perfect faith, that the Creator (blessed be his name!) is not corporeal, nor to be comprehended by any understanding capable of comprehending only what is corporeal; and there is nothing like him in the universe.

"IV. I believe with a perfect faith, that the Creator (blessed be his name!) is the only true object of adoration, and that no other being whatsoever ought to be worshipped.

"V. I believe with a perfect faith, that the soul of man is breathed into him by God, and is therefore immortal.

"VI. I believe with a perfect faith, that the Creator (blessed be his name!) knows all things, and that he will reward those who observe his commands, and punish those who transgress them.

"VII. I believe with a perfect faith, that the Laws of God, as delivered by Moses in the ten commandments, are the only true foundation of piety towards the Almighty and of morality among men.

"VIII. I believe with a perfect faith, that morality is essentially connected with religion and that good faith towards all mankind, is among the most acceptable offerings to the Deity.

"IX. I believe with a perfect faith, that the love of God is the highest duty of his creatures, and that the pure and upright heart is the chosen temple of Jehovah.

"X. I believe with a perfect faith, that the Creator (blessed be his name!) is the only true Redeemer of all his children, and that he will spread the worship of his name over the whole earth."

[16]*Gebetbuch der Genossenschaft fuer Reform im Judentum,* Erster Theil: *Allwoechentliche Gebete und hausliche Andacht.* The first edition was drawn up by four members of the Berlin Congregation (1845-6). Holdheim subjected the work to a thorough revision and republished it in 1848. Holdheim's name appears on the title page of the *Gebete and Gesaenge fuer das Neujahrs—und Versoehnungs—Fest* (Berlin, 1859).

[17]Cited by D. Philipson, op. cit. pp. 357-9.

[18]The only Hebrew texts of this ritual are: the one lines of the Shema and Baruch Shem, Kadosh, Baruch Kebod, Yimloch, the Priestly Benediction, V'nislaḥ, Vayomer Adonai Salaḥti Kidbarecha, and Adonai hu ha-elohim.

[19]*Seder T'fila Dbar Yom B'yomo; Israelitisches Gebetbuch fuer den oeffentlichen Gottesdienst im Ganzen Jahre* (Breslau 1854). Rev. and enl. into two vols. (Berlin 1870).

[20]Intro. to second edition, p. viii.

[21]He retained the poems *Zion halo tishali, Shaali S'rufah,* and *Eli Ẓion;* also the entire *Naḥem* in the 'Amidah. The second edition omits the *Eli Ẓion* and presents the *Naḥem* in abbreviated form.

[22]See the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth benedictions of the 'Amidah.

[23]Inconsistently, he left the reference to a personal Messiah in the *Yigdal* unaltered.

[24]*Gebetbuch fuer Israelitische Gemeinden nach dem Ritus der Hauptsynagoge zu Frankfurt a.* M. (1860).

[25]*Anhang, zur Confirmation,* pp. 64-68.

[26]*Vorrede,* pp. iv-v.

[27]The first edition appeared in New York, 1856. Its full title is *Gebetbuch fuer Israelitische Reform-Gemeinden.*

[28]Hymns, Psalms and Prayers, pp. 106ff.

[29]The first edition of the Union Prayer Book appeared in 1892 and 1893; the second revised edition in 1908, and the new revised edition in 1919 and 1922.

[30]See his essay "Kinat ha-Emet" in E. Lieberman, *Nogah ha-Ẓedeḳ* 1818); also his *Iggeret Elassaph* (1826), *and Yeled Ẓekunim,* 1839; Creizenach, *Shulḥan 'Aruch, oder Encyclopedische Darstellung des Mosaischen Gesetzes* (4 vols., 1833-1846).

[31]D. Philipson, op. cit., p. 168.

[32]Cited by D. Philipson, "Samuel Holdheim, Jewish Reformer," *Yearbook Central Conference of American Rabbis,* Vol. XVI., p. 326.

[33]See *Die Autonomie der Rabbinen* (Schwerin, 1843).

[34]*Das Ceremonialgesetz in Messiasreich* (Schwerin and Berlin, 1845).

[35]*Yearbook C. C. A. R.* XVI, p. 327. He, too, did not hesitate to declare himself against circumcision and to transfer the Sabbath to Sunday.

[36]Ibid. p. 326.

[37]Ibid. p. 358.

[38]*Nachgelassene Schriften,* Vol. V. p. 278.

[39]D. Philipson, op. cit., pp. 488-489.

[40]*Proceedings of the Pittsburgh Rabbinical Conference.* Published by the Central Conference of American Rabbis (1923), pp. 24-25; and in D. Philipson, op. cit., pp. 491-2.

[41]The attitude of Orthodoxy toward the position of Reform is well illustrated in the following:

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES OF THE ORTHODOX JEWISH CONGREGATIONAL UNION OF AMERICA (JUNE 8, 1898)

"This Conference of delegates from Jewish congregations in the United States and the Dominion of Canada is convened to advance the interests of positive Biblical, Rabbinical and Historical Judaism.

"We are assembled not as a synod, and, therefore, we have no legislative authority to amend religious questions, but as a representative body, which by organization and coöperation will endeavor to advance the interests of Judaism in America.

"We favor the convening of a Jewish Synod specifically authorized by congregations to meet, to be composed of men who must be certified Rabbis, and

a. Elders in official position (Cf. Numbers xi. 16);
b. Men of wisdom and understanding, and known amongst us (Cf. Deut. i. 13);
c. Able men, God-fearing men, men of truth, hating profit (Cf. Exodus xviii. 21).

"We believe in the Divine revelation of the Bible, and we declare that the prophets in no way discountenanced ceremonial duty, but only condemned the personal life of those who ob-

served ceremonial law, but disregarded the moral. Ceremonial law is not optative; it is obligatory.

"We affirm our adherence to the acknowledged codes of our Rabbis and the thirteen principles of Maimonides.

"We believe that in our dispersion we are to be united with our brethren of alien faith in all that devolves upon men as citizens; but that religiously, in rites, ceremonies, ideals and doctrines, we are separate, and must remain separate in accordance with the Divine declaration: 'I have separated you from the nations to be Mine' (Lev. xx. 26).

"And further, to prevent misunderstanding concerning Judaism, we reaffirm our belief in the coming of a personal Messiah and we protest against the admission of proselytes into the fold of Judaism without *millah* and *tebilah* (circumcision and ritual bath).

"We protest against intermarriage between Jew and Gentile; we protest against the idea that we are merely a religious sect, and maintain that we are a nation, though temporarily without a national home, and

"Furthermore, that the restoration to Zion is the legitimate aspiration of scattered Israel, in no way conflicting with our loyalty to the land in which we dwell or may dwell at any time."

American Jewish Year Book, Vol. I (5660), pp. 99—100.

[42]"The Faith of Reform Judaism," *Menorah Journal,* Vol. II., pp. 9-10.

[43]*Studies in Judaism,* Vol. II., p. 181.

[44]*The Study of Religion,* p. 112.

[45]*Hebrew Union College Annual,* Vol. I., p. 637.

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